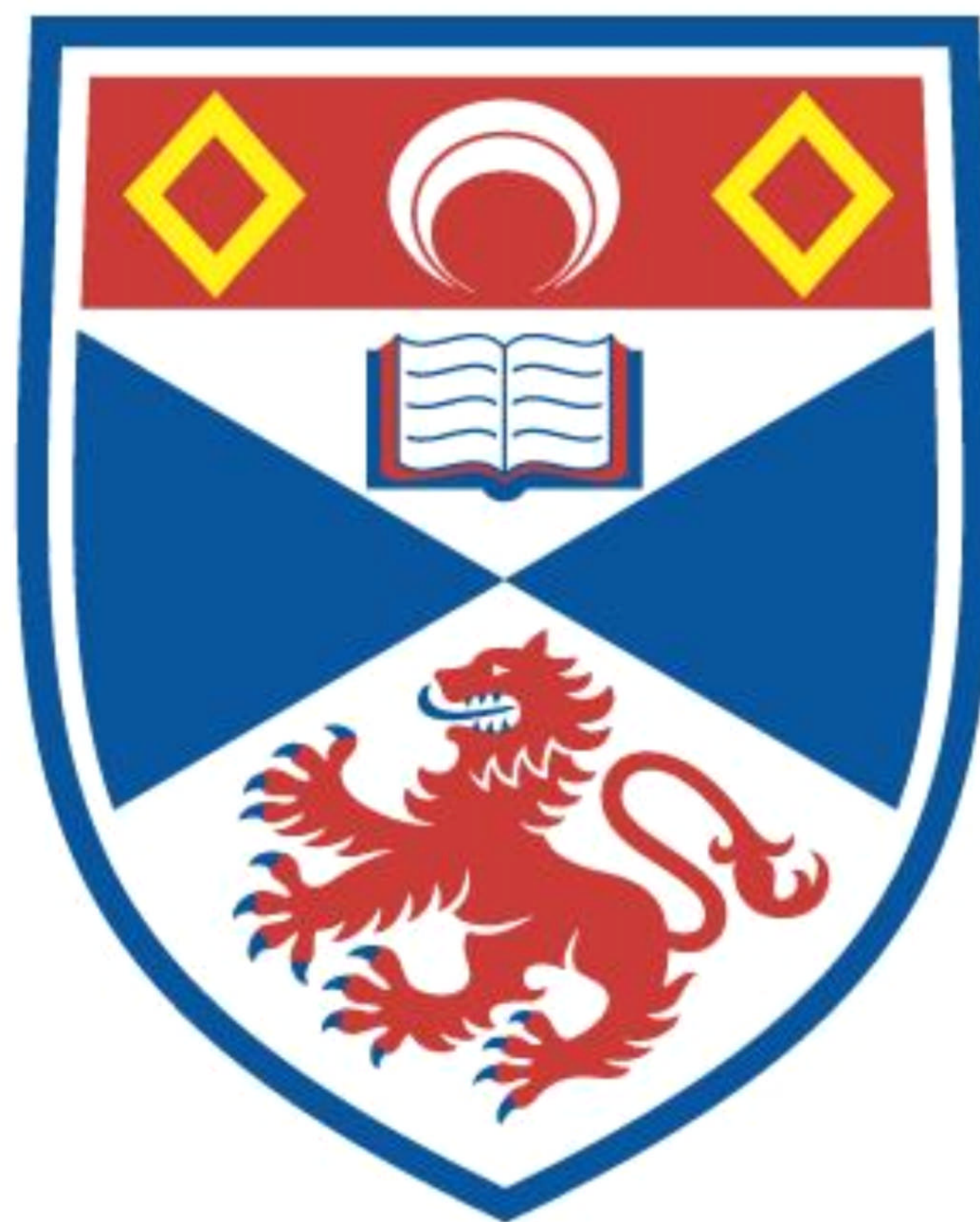


BILINGUALISM IN CALCA, DEPARTMENT OF CUZCO, PERU

PAULINE HOGGARTH

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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BILINGUALISM
IN CALCA, DEPARTMENT OF CUZCO, PERU

by

Pauline Hoggarth

A dissertation presented
in application for the Degree of
Ph.D. in the University of St. Andrews

Centre for Latin American Linguistic Studies,
University of St. Andrews.
June 1973



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Certificate

I hereby certify that Pauline F. Hoggarth has spent nine terms engaged in research work under my direction and that she has fulfilled the conditions of the General Ordinance No. 12 (Resolution of the University Court No. 1, 1967), and that she is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

(sgd.)


Supervisor

Declaration

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on work carried out by me, that the thesis is my own composition, and that no part of it has been presented previously for a higher degree.

The research was conducted in Peru, London and the Centre for Latin American Linguistic Studies, University of St. Andrews, under the direction of Mr. D.J. Gifford.

(sgd.)


Candidate

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There is a story told among Quechua speakers in the region of Calca which goes as follows:-

Kunan huj cuentuta willasqayki. Kimsa ch'uspachakuna urayamurqan punamanta wasinkumanta. Hinaspanmi haykusqanku kermesta, huj llaqtapi kermés kasqa. Chay llaqtaman haykuspanku manan paykuna castellanota yacharankuchu. Mesapi tiyaykusqankullacha uyariran-ku huj ladokunaq wiraqochakunaq rimasqankuta: "Hemos hecho nosotros ..." nispa. Chayman hujninñataq nimusqa: "Hemos hecho ..." nispa. Hujninñataq nimusqa: "Eso merecemos" nispa nisqa. Hinaspanmi ripusqanku wasinkuta ripushasqanku machasqa. Machasqa ripuspankullataqmi carreterapi tarisqanku huj runata carro sarurapusqa. Hinaspa paykunata chay wiraqocha carruyoq nirqan: "Pin kayta ruwarqan?" nispa. "Nosotros pues ..." hujnin nisqa. Hujnintaqmi nisqa: "Hemos hecho ..." "Pin kayta ruwarqan? Hakuchis puestoman" nispa nisqa. Hinaspa niqtinmi nisqa: "Eso merecemos" nispataqqa. Chayllan chaykamallataq.

The free English translation is:-

Now I'm going to tell you a story. Three Indians (the Quechua means literally "three little coca bags") came down from their homes in the mountains. They went into the town where there was a fair. None of the three spoke any Spanish. As they were sitting having a meal, they listened to the gentlemen (the term wiracocha is used by the Indians of white or Spanish-speaking people) on the other side talking. One said, "We have ..." Another said, "We've done ..." A third said, "We really deserve it." (These phrases are the snatches of Spanish conversation overheard by the Indians.) Well, then the three Indians went off home, very drunk. As they went along, all drunk, they came across a man who had been run over by a car. The owner of the car said, "Who did this?" "We have ..." said one of the men. "We've done ..." said another. "Who did this? Just come along to the police station," said (the driver). "We really deserve it," said the last man. And that's the end of the story.

There may be several more convincing versions of this tale, but the general idea is clear enough — the Quechua speaker, who hears a little Spanish when he goes to town, and then uses it in the wrong situation to his own detriment, in this case being taken off to gaol. Several stories like this are told among Quechua speakers against themselves.

When I first heard this particular tale it recalled a remark made by Diebold about certain stories in circulation among the Mexican Indians of Oaxaca, in which they too laughed at themselves for the

awkward situations brought on them because of a very limited knowledge of Spanish. One story is a parallel of the Quechua tale — Huave Indians go to the market in Tehuantepec, with farcical results.¹

This parallel aroused my interest in the contact of Quechua and Spanish in the town or village context and led to two periods of field work in the town of Calca, and the investigation described in this dissertation.

Acknowledgements

The four years of work on this project were made possible in the first place by a two-year grant from the Lloyd Scholarship Fund. Two field trips to Peru in 1969-70 and 1971-72 were financed by grants from the University Grants Committee and the Leverhulme, Astor and Carnegie Foundations who allocated money for field work to the Centre for Latin American Linguistic Studies, University of St. Andrews, under whose auspices I worked. In addition I received a personal grant from the Portsmouth Polytechnic for the second field trip.

Acknowledgements are due to many people, in particular my research supervisor, Mr. D.J. Gifford, without whose enthusiasm and encouragement this study would never have been completed. I should also like to thank my father, Leslie Hoggarth, whose knowledge of Quechua and of Indian culture has been an invaluable help.

Special thanks go to all the informants in Calca, who generously gave up time to be pestered with tape-recorders and questionnaires. I am indebted particularly to Sra. Margarita Torres de González, who despite having a full-time job and a family always made herself available to transcribe and translate the Quechua tapes.

Finally I would like to thank the Evangelical Union of South America — and in particular Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Bell of the Hacienda

1. Diebold 1961, p.77.

Urco — for lending me the house in which I lived in Calca, and generously giving all kinds of practical assistance.

Explanation of footnotes

For the sake of brevity and clarity footnote references are limited to the surname of the author, date and page reference. Full details of all works cited are to be found in the Bibliography (pp. 282ff.).

ADDENDA

conjunc.	conjunctive
conn.	connective
def.	definite, emphatic
incept.	inceptive
infin.	infinitive
neg.	negative
part.	participle
subj.	subject
wrđ.	word

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

aff.	affirmative
agent.	agentive
AQ	Ayacucho Quechua
caus.	causative
cisloc.	cislocative
cond.	conditional
conj.	conjectural
contin.	continuous
CQ	Cochabamba Quechua
dim.	diminutive
dub.	dubitative
EM	Ernst Middendorf, <u>Gramática Keshua</u> (1970; German edn. 1890)
emph.	emphatic
excl.	exclusive
fam.	familiar
fut.	future
GP	Gary J. Parker, <u>Ayacucho Quechua Grammar and Dictionary</u> (1969)
imp.	imperative
interrog.	interrogative
JL	Jorge A. Lira, <u>Diccionario Kkechuwa-Español</u> (1944)
lim.	limitative
loc.	locative
MY	Masako Yokoyama, "Outline of Quechua structure: I. Morphology," <u>Language</u> 27 (1951)
narr.	narrative
nom.	nominalizer
obj.	object
pl.	plural
poss.	possessive
pres.	present
prop.	propensitive
purp.	purposive
Q	Quechua
recip.	reciprocal
reflex.	reflexive
reg.var.	regional variation
S	Spanish
s.	singular
simul.	simultative
superl.	superlative
trans.	transitional
transloc.	translocative
YL	Yolanda Lastra, <u>Cochabamba Quechua Syntax</u> (1968)

For the linguistic categorization of informants, the following are used:-

- (1S;2Q) = first language Spanish; second language Quechua
 (1Q;2S) = first language Quechua; second language Spanish

C H A P T E R O N E

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1. Aims and Methods

(a) The purpose of the study

This investigation proposes to examine the nature of the contact between the Spanish and Quechua spoken in the town of Calca, Department of Cuzco, southern Peru, and to describe some of the social factors associated with this language contact.¹ (This association is here presupposed, and is discussed at length in §2 of the present chapter and in Chapter II.)

Originally my plan had been to study the extent of bilingualism among primary school children in the núcleo escolar of Quiquijana, to the south-east of Calca, but it became clear to me very soon that it would be an extremely difficult field to investigate adequately, since teachers, although very cooperative in other respects, insisted in presenting only outstanding children to be interviewed, and I found a very unrepresentative sample emerging. I therefore decided to attempt a study of a cross-section of the population of Calca, where I believed it would be possible to obtain a much more typical sample.

As I have mentioned in the preface, the idea for an investigation of this kind emerged from a reading of Diebold's dissertation on bilingualism and biculturalism in a Huave community in Oaxaca, and I am indebted to this work for many valuable ideas.² A certain amount of

1. The Quechua spoken in Calca is that of the Cuzco dialect: see Rowe 1950, p. 137.

2. Diebold 1961.

investigation in this area had also already been carried out by members of the Centre for Latin-American Linguistic Studies of the University of St. Andrews.¹

Any study of language contact necessitates an analysis of the phonemic and morpho-syntactic structures of the languages in question, and it was while engaged on this analysis that I realised that the information elicited might throw a little more light on the thorny problem of the influence of Quechua on Spanish, within the wider field of traditional dialectology. According to Lope Blanch,

... the study of the influence of native tongues upon Castilian has barely begun. It would be necessary for those engaged in the investigation of American Spanish to have a relatively profound knowledge of the substratum languages, or that the specialists in these native tongues would be more interested in analyzing the peculiarities of American Spanish. There is, unfortunately, a serious lack of communication between the Indianists and the Hispanists. This is a situation which causes, in many cases, the mutual influences between Spanish and the substratum languages, of which scholars speak, to be nothing but sheer impressions, more or less justified intuitions.²

The field of Spanish-Quechua contact has been, of course, a happy hunting-ground for scholars in search of evidence for substratum influence, but there has been relatively little work done in the field of Spanish influence in Quechua, and the little that has been done has not taken into account the total phenomenon of bilingualism, with the many social pressures which influence it. My impression is that among Quechua scholars, interest is still mainly in the field of morpho-phonemic descriptions, of which good ones are certainly in short supply,³ or else, among native Quechua speakers, in the field of lexical interference, and then only with very inconsistent data.⁴ In

1. See Gifford 1969.

2. Lope Blanch 1968, p. 119.

3. But see for example Yokoyama 1951, Lastra 1968, Parker 1969, Howkins 1972.

4. See for example Alencastre n.d.

the same way that dialect variations have frequently been described from the standpoint of the educator with his insistence on regularity, or that of the believers in the importance of a "pure" Spanish, so also, it seems, it is the "pure" form of Quechua which has interested the investigator, and the regular use of Spanish lexicon in Quechua has been ignored. Alternatively, descriptions of Quechua have included Spanish items, but with little or no reference to their phonemic form among Quechua speakers, or their frequency. Although the reconstruction of the classical forms of the indigenous languages of Latin America (among them Quechua) will no doubt continue to intrigue investigators for some time to come, it would seem logical that greater attention should be paid to work on language contact situations, particularly in a country such as Peru, where the question of language has such a real bearing on the problems of rural education and the integration of the Indian population into the Spanish-speaking society.¹ The desirability or otherwise of such integration is of course another question.

(b) The theoretical background

The literature concerned with bilingualism is extensive. Weinreich lists 658 items in his bibliography, covering not only descriptions of bilingual situations, but also the many related topics such as children's speech, aphasia, the emotional adjustment of bilinguals, social prestige and cultural marginality.² The necessity for interdisciplinary research has been stressed by many writers in the field, for example Diebold:-

There are actually many dimensions to the problem of linguistic interference and we look to the work of psychologists, sociologists,

1. For an interesting account of the attitude of the present Peruvian government to bilingualism in education see República del Perú 1970, pp. 186-88.

2. Weinreich 1967, pp. 123-48.

anthropologists, political scientists and educators for more complete analysis of the backgrounds and circumstances of bilingualism.¹

In this survey of the theoretical background, which I shall try to make as concise as possible, while at the same time introducing those concepts and terms which are currently in use in the literature, we shall be considering three main areas in which the literature relates to the particular case of Spanish-Quechua contact in Peru:-

(i) the nature of the original contact;

(ii) the contemporary social, political and economic background to language contact;

(iii) the changes — if any — occurring in either or both languages as a result of contact.

I shall survey the literature and theory in each category in separate paragraphs, listed as above, for easy reference.

(i) Haugen's work on bilingualism in North and South America and Weinreich's earlier general work on language contact have retained their importance as works of reference in the field of bilingualism studies.² Haugen sums up the question of the nature of the original contact in a brief section on the native, colonial, immigrant and creole languages of the New World:-

The colonial languages were established by the colonizing powers, beginning with Spain, and followed by Portugal, France, England, Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark and Russia. Those nations which were able to maintain an official foothold in the Americas also ensured a continuation of their languages on American soil. These languages everywhere replaced the native languages as languages of government, and the native languages have survived only as the spoken (or occasionally written) idioms of unassimilated groups. The native peoples have had bilingualism thrust upon them to a much greater extent than the colonizers.³

1. Diebold 1964, p. 495.

2. Haugen 1956; Weinreich 1967.

3. Haugen 1956, p. 10.

In the case of Peru we are dealing with an example of conquest and colonization. Different situations, however, will result in different kinds of language contact. In the case of trading, pidginization is likely to occur. It has been defined as "... a contact vernacular, normally not the native language of any of its speakers".¹ A pidgin will rarely last more than a century, since one group or the other will eventually learn the other's language, or alternatively a creole will develop:-

Unlike a pidgin, which functions only as an auxiliary contact language, a creole is the native language of most of its speakers. Therefore its vocabulary and syntactic devices are, like those of any native language, large enough to meet all the communication needs of its speakers ... A creole is inferior to its corresponding standard language only in social status.²

An interesting study of language contact, with specific reference to the influence of the original contact, was made by Dozier in Sonora and New Mexico. It would seem that if contact is violent, as in the case of the Tewa people of New Mexico, the indigenous culture tends to react by becoming conservative, rejecting patterns of culture from the colonizers and, in the case of language, translating forms from the colonial language by elements from its own rather than simply borrowing items from the colonial language. Conversely, in the case of the Yaqui of Sonora, where little coercion was used by the Spaniards, a type of amalgamated culture emerged, in which it was difficult to separate Indian and Spanish traits.³

In the colonial situation the language of the colonizers is, as we have observed, imposed on the indigenous peoples, either by force or by law (as in the case of Peru in the seventeenth century). In this

1. Decamp 1971, p. 15.

2. Ibid., p. 16.

3. Dozier 1956, pp. 146-157.

situation, where a dominant and a lower language (in the sense of being the language of the dominated and generally underprivileged group) are established, many speakers of the lower language will learn the dominant one, while few, if any, speakers of the dominant language will learn the lower one.¹ Paraguay deserves special mention at this point, since it is almost unique in its language situation, Spanish and Guaraní both being official languages. Rubin attributes this to the nature of the original contact:-

In Paraguay, the initial period of contact was one of constant interaction between the aboriginals and the Spanish. This was largely due to two circumstances: (a) The willingness of the Guaraní Indians to collaborate with the Spanish for mutual protection ... and (b) The high percentage of Guaraní households established ... Collaboration between Indians and Spanish in Paraguay dated from the very beginning of Spanish occupation ... In contrast to Paraguayan isolation, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia maintained extensive contact with Spain. The Viceroyalty, one of the two major administrative centres of the Crown in the New World, was located in Peru. There was constant traffic between the mines of Potosí in Bolivia and Spain. An élite developed in these countries, and Spanish was an important distinguishing feature of upper class status.²

Summing up the contemporary situation in Paraguay, Rubin concludes:-

Social class did not enter in usage except insofar as members of the upper class had more education and, therefore, were almost always bilingual and members of the lower class conversely had less education and were more likely to be monolingual. In acquisition and proficiency it was found that members of the upper class more often learned both languages simultaneously or Spanish first while members of the lower classes learned Guaraní first.³

The original contact situation in the case of Peru is described in §2 of the present chapter. A comparable situation to that of Peru is found in Ecuador, and is described by Toscano Mateus, though not in terms of bilingualism, and a contrasting situation is that already mentioned in the discussion of Paraguay.⁴

1. Haugen 1956, p. 116.

2. Rubin 1968(a), pp. 23-25.

3. Ibid., p. 115.

4. Toscano Mateus 1953; Rubin 1968 (a) and (b).

(ii) We come now to the social background of language contact, and here we must start by referring to the distinction drawn by Mackey between language contact which results in bilingualism and that which results only in a certain number of borrowings which become incorporated into the lexicon of the recipient language. In the latter case one cannot talk about linguistic interference except in a historical sense:-

It is important not to confuse bilingualism — the use of two or more languages by the individual — with the more general concept of language contact, which deals with the direct or indirect influence of one language on another resulting in changes in the "langue" which become the permanent property of individuals and enter into the historical development of the language ... the presence of words like coffee and sugar in English does not argue a period of English-Arabic bilingualism. Language contact includes the study of linguistic borrowing.¹

A bilingual situation exists where there are neighbouring monolingual communities which have to communicate with each other over a long period.

The definition of bilingualism has changed considerably in the course of the twentieth century. In 1933 Bloomfield defined it as the "native-like control of two languages".² By the 1950s Haugen had broadened the concept by describing bilingualism as the ability to produce "complete meaningful utterances in the other language".³ Diebold, when he investigated the Huave-Spanish speaking community of San Mateo del Mar in Oaxaca, found that these definitions did not cover all the cases of language usage which he found: there was, in addition, a passive or receptive knowledge of the second language, which the speaker could not use productively except in a very atomistic fashion. He realised the importance of this kind of language usage as representing the first stages in the process of acquisition of a second language, and his term "incipient bilingualism" entered the literature.⁴ "This

1. Mackey 1968, p. 554.

2. Bloomfield 1933, p. 56.

3. Haugen 1953, I, p. 7.

4. Diebold 1964, p. 495.

broadening of the concept of bilingualism is due to the realization that the point at which a speaker of a second language becomes bilingual is either arbitrary or impossible to determine."¹

One of the major questions which has to be considered in examining a case of bilingualism is that of degree — that is, how well the informant knows the two (or more) languages which he speaks. Individuals who are equally fluent in both languages in all the four basic skills — speaking, listening and understanding, reading and writing — are very rarely found. There are many variables: reading vocabularies may far exceed speaking vocabularies, or a speaker may be able to talk about a given topic in one language with greater ease than in another language.² In bilingualism literature these variables are often referred to as functions of language — for example, one language may be the official one, or that used on formal occasions, while the other is the language of the home. Mackey tabulates all these variables under the heading of contacts — the contexts in which the languages may be used, such as the home, the community, the school, the mass media and correspondence, with all their various sub-groups: the neighbourhood, ethnic group, church group, occupation group, recreation group would all come under the heading of the community. Operating within all these areas there are certain influences to which the individual speaker is subject, and which dispose him towards the use of one language or another, according to the economic, administrative, cultural, political, military or religious pressures of his particular situation.³

An up-to-date example of the influence of the "register" or social role of the speaker is given by Mackey:-

1. Mackey 1968, p. 555.

2. Ibid., pp. 556-7.

3. Ibid., p. 559.

A bilingual may make sure that all his words are French if he is broadcasting a French speech over the radio; but at the same time he may be quite unconscious of many cases of syntactic interference which have crept into his speech. If, however, he is telling the contents of his speech to his drinking partner, he may be far less particular about interlarding his account with non-French words; yet the proportion of syntactic interference may be considerably less.¹

Various other circumstances may also influence the amount and type of interference, such as the language of the interlocutor and the speaker's topic.²

We can also speak of historical pressures — those imposed by events in the past, such as conquest and colonization — and demographic pressures imposed by the majority on the minority.³ We shall be considering some of these types of influence in the particular case of Spanish and Quechua in Chapter II.

Another very interesting aspect of language function is that of automatic or intrinsic usage. Here the investigator is attempting to discover the language used by an informant when counting, praying, cursing, telling jokes, etc. I attempted to elicit some information on this aspect in the questionnaire (see page 25 below) and was able to come to some tentative conclusions, but in general I found it difficult to obtain reliable information of this kind. Mackey points out that language aptitude may also be influenced by factors such as sex, age, intelligence and memory, relative attitudes to the languages (involving questions of prestige and language loyalty), and motivation for learning

1. Mackey 1968, p. 570.

2. "Among the non-structural factors [influencing interference], some are inherent in the bilingual person's relation to the languages he brings into contact. [Among these is]: ... (c) Specialization in the use of each language by topics and interlocutors" (Weinreich 1967, p. 3). "In speaking to a unilingual, the bilingual often tends to limit interference and to eliminate even habitualized borrowings from his speech. He is subject to what has been called interlocutory constraint" (*ibid.*, p. 81).

3. Mackey 1968, p. 559.

a second language.¹ Weinreich and Haugen also consider these problems in the earlier literature.

Various methods have been devised for the testing of the degree of bilingualism in any individual — Diebold, for example, administered the Swadesh lexicostatistics test to some of his informants in San Mateo.² Such detailed testing is impossible in the case of large numbers of informants, and the classification of informants is made on the basis of observation and the answers to linguistic questionnaires. Thus Diebold classified as coordinate bilinguals those informants "in whose spoken Spanish there was little or no noticeable interference from Huave, i.e. who appeared to speak Spanish natively or with little 'accent'. San Mateños whose Spanish was productive but which evinced noticeable interference from Huave were to be classified as subordinate bilinguals."³ This same classification has been followed with the Calca informants, though the information elicited in the questionnaires (see pp. 24-25 below) was augmented by tape recordings and informal observation. Informants classified as incipient bilinguals were those with only a receptive or atomistic knowledge of the second language.⁴

Clearly, the work done by scholars such as Haugen, Weinreich and Mackey was backed by field-work in a variety of places — Switzerland, Canada, and among immigrants in the United States, to cite some examples. This side of the coin of bilingualism literature is what we might call case studies — specific instances of field-work carried out in relation to bilingualism theory, or ideas about linguistic acculturation. Examples of work done in the American continents would certainly include

1. Mackey 1968, pp. 565-68.

2. Diebold 1961, pp. 77-78.

3. Ibid.

4. A similar scheme of classification was used by Rubin in the Spanish-Guaraní study: see Rubin 1968(a), p. 71.

Barker's study of the use of English, Spanish and Pachuco in Tucson, and Casagrande's description of Comanche linguistic acculturation.¹ Attention has already been drawn to Diebold's studies in Oaxaca and those of Rubin in Paraguay.² The latter is notable for an extraordinarily detailed questionnaire on language usage in rural and urban areas.³ The general problem of culture change was investigated by Kornfield in the Bolivian village of Capinota, and a fairly extensive section is devoted to language.⁴ A similar study, but one conducted rather more within the discipline of psycho-linguistics, was carried out in Chiapas by McQuown, who not only elicited linguistic information by the traditional methods but also, by the administration of T.A.T. tests and photo cultural projection tests (in which an informant is shown photographs and asked to identify the Indian and ladino cultural elements) obtained information on attitudes to Indian and ladino culture.⁵

These then are a few examples of case studies of bilingualism and biculturalism which deal not only with the specifically linguistic aspects but also with the equally important social questions without which the linguistic data, however carefully collected, is almost meaningless.

(iii) The characteristics of the linguistic data may be influenced, as we have seen, by the situations in which the languages are used, and by the social pressures which we have described. All these variables and pressures will determine the type and amount of interference of one language in another in the speech of the bilingual. I

1. Barker 1947; Casagrande 1954, 1955.

2. Diebold 1961, 1964; Rubin 1968(a) and (b).

3. Rubin 1968(b), pp. 518-20.

4. Kornfield 1969.

5. McQuown 1962.

shall now describe briefly the concept of linguistic interference and the ideas associated with it in the literature.

It has already been pointed out that linguistic interference is different from language borrowing, though the latter should be a part of the study of language contact (see page 7 above). Linguistic interference is a characteristic of the "parole" of the individual speaker, and is the domain of synchronic linguistics, while borrowing is a feature of "langue", and is the concern of diachronic linguistics.¹

Philologists are, among other things, students of language borrowing, and in the specific area of Spanish and Quechua there are several studies of loans from Quechua into Spanish and from Spanish into Quechua which have occurred since the Conquest.² Loans from Quechua into Spanish were mainly in the categories of plant and animal names, toponymy, and names of customs, clothing and food. This kind of loan, as found in the corpus of material from Calca, is described in Chapter III, §3. In a parallel fashion, Spanish words in certain categories were borrowed at an early stage into Quechua and have become integrated into the language, so that they are part of the vocabulary of bilingual and monolingual alike. This is true of some religious lexicon and the names of certain European plants and animals.³ These loans are made because of what are known in the literature as "designative inadequacies" in the languages, and they may, in the course of time, become "integrated loans".⁴

1. These are of course concepts first proposed by Saussure (see Saussure 1916).

2. See for example Arona 1883, Morínigo 1931, Tascón 1934, Benvenuto Murrieta 1936, pp. 84-94, Toscano Mateus 1953, pp. 30-34, Hildebrandt 1969, pp. 62-65, 69, 72, 76 etc., and Alencastre n.d., p. 3.

3. See for example Toscano Mateus 1953, pp. 29-30, and Alencastre n.d., p. 3.

4. For these terms see Weinreich 1967, p. 57, and Diebold 1961, p. 23.

Linguistic interference, as opposed to this cultural borrowing, has been defined by Haugen as "the overlapping of two languages", and by Mackey as "the use of features belonging to one language while speaking or writing another".¹ These are phonemic and morpho-syntactic (lexical and grammatical) features found with greater or lesser frequency in the speech of bilinguals. They are not integrated as in the case of the loans described above.

Linguistic usage is influenced, as we have already seen in subsection (ii) (pp. 7-11), by the circumstances of the individual speaker. These circumstances will not only influence the choice of which language the individual employs, but also the type and amount of interference which may be observed in his speech.

In discussing the analysis of linguistic interference it is essential to introduce several terms which are commonly used in the literature. These will be limited to as few as possible, and will be used only when the use of a particular term makes the description more lucid.

It was Weinreich who first introduced the term "interlingual identification" to describe the process by which a bilingual may perceive the sounds of a second language in terms of the sound system of his mother tongue.² His speech may be characterised by phonemic interference, which Haugen illustrates by the case of a Spaniard who hears the English words some, sun and sung and identifies the final phoneme as the Spanish /n/, since it is the only nasal consonant occurring in final position in Spanish.³ The same process is behind morphological interference, which may be divided into the categories of

1. Haugen 1956, p. 40; Mackey 1968, p. 569.

2. Weinreich 1967, pp. 7ff.

3. Haugen 1956, pp. 44-45

lexical and grammatical interference:-

Grammatical interference involving word morphology is generally conceded to be minimal in all situations of language contact. Transfer of bound inflectional morphemes, for instance, has been established as occurring most infrequently. The sharing for example of identical suppletive inflections by two languages would normally be taken by comparativists as evidence of their cognation (ruling out coincidence) because of the observed resistance of such items to borrowing. One factor affecting resistance to transfer is certainly the boundness of the form; cf. Weinreich's hypothesis "the fuller the integration of the morpheme, the less likelihood of its transfer" (Weinreich 1967:35).¹

Diebold continues by pointing out that the transfer of whole syntactic patterns, as opposed to isolated bound morphemes, is quite common, but he warns that the investigator must guard against generalities and jumping to conclusions the moment he finds two apparently similar syntactic patterns in the two languages.²

The analysis of lexical interference has been refined by various investigators into a fairly sophisticated process. Briefly, lexical interference may occur on the basis of identification of sound, or identification of meaning. In the first case, identification is made on the basis of the phonemic shape of the model in the second language. This model is then reproduced in terms of the sound system of the bilingual's first language. This is termed in the literature a loan word, and it is the most common type of lexical interference. Most integrated loans are made originally on this basis. An example from the Spanish-Quechua corpus is the use by Quechua speakers of the Spanish word cargo, which is often used in a Quechua context with the phonemic form /kargu/. Diebold calls this kind of interference "homophonous".³ In the second case, interlingual identification is made at the level of meaning: a frequent example cited is the Spanish word rascacielos,

1. Diebold 1961, pp. 126-7.

2. Ibid., p. 128.

3. Ibid., p. 90.

where the English word 'skyscraper' has been translated by Spanish elements. This kind of interference (although this particular example must surely be regarded now as an integrated form) is termed a loan shift.¹ In the case of the Yaqui and Tewa Indians, cited before in connection with the discussion of the effects of the nature of the original contact, Dozier noted that among the conservative Tewa, interference was almost wholly of the loan shift type, while the Yaqui vocabulary contained about 65 per cent of Spanish-derived loan words.² Loan shifts are also called "synonymous" loans in the literature.³ A third kind of borrowing may take the form of a loan blend, in which one element of a compound lexical item will be an importation (based on the phonemic shape of the model) and another will be a substitution (based on the meaning of the model). The example quoted by Diebold in the Huave vocabulary is the Spanish hormiga arriera, which is rendered by Huave speakers as arir-çok, arir being a homophonous loan word (= Spanish arriera) and çok (= Huave word for 'ant') a synonymous loan shift.⁴

6

1. The kind of loan shift or loan word which misfires, because of misunderstanding, is a fairly common comic device in literature. Thus Lawrence Durrell describes a conversation between two of his characters:-

"Pombal drove a comb through his dark hair with a laborious impatience and then consulted his watch. 'Merde' he said, 'I am going to be retarded again.'

"Pursewarden gave a shriek of delight. They ventured freely in each other's languages, rejoicing like schoolboys in the mistakes which cropped up among their conversations. Each blunder was greeted with a shout, was turned into a wacry. Pursewarden hopped with pleasure and shouted happily above the hissing of the water: 'Why not stay in and enjoy a nice little nocturnal emission on the short hairs?' (Pombal had described a radio broadcast thus the day before and had not been allowed to forget it). He made a round face now to express mock annoyance. 'I did not say it' he said ... 'I did not say "the short hairs" but the "short undulations" — des ondes courtes'" (Durrell, The Alexandria Quartet, p. 518).

This exchange contains examples both of misidentifications on the basis of meaning — 'undulations' for ondes — and of sound — 'emission' for émission.

2. Dozier 1956, pp.146-57.
3. Diebold 1961, p. 90.
4. Ibid., p. 91.

All these three types of lexical interference may also be classified as simple or compound — in the Quechua corpus, for example, compound loans from Spanish were found, such as de veraschu or las cuatro de la mañanata. Of course, some of these lexical items will come under the category of integrated loans, that is, non-native words found in the speech of bilingual and monolingual alike. But while they must be regarded as integrated lexical items, the sound shifts involved in their reproduction according to the phonemic system of a speaker's first language are not so easily classified as integrated. For example, the Spanish word vaca became part of the Quechua vocabulary quite early on, since cattle were introduced in South America by the Spaniards. In the case of some speakers in Calca the initial phoneme /v/ is reproduced by the Spanish /v/, although /v/ is foreign to the Quechua phoneme inventory. In other cases it is interpreted as the Quechua semivowel /w/. In this case we cannot correctly speak of the general integration of the phoneme /v/ in the Quechua system. The manner in which it is reproduced will depend on the individual speaker, and the degree to which he is bilingual.

In analysing cases of interference, we have first to identify in a text (such as a transcription from tape) all elements which are foreign to the predominant language of the text. These elements are the replicas of models which should be identifiable in the second language of the speaker.¹ They are all tokens of a certain type of interference — lexical, phonemic, syntactic, etc.² The process of analysis is summed up by Mackey:—

-
1. Haugen first used the terms "model" and "replica" to describe the feature identified in the second language (the model) and its rendition in terms of the first language (the replica). See Haugen 1956, p. 39.
 2. Mackey uses the terms "type" and "token" (1968, p. 571).

The description of bilingualism requires three procedures:
1. the discovery of exactly what foreign element is introduced by the speaker into his speech; 2. the analysis of what he does with it — his substitutions and modifications; and 3. a measurement of the extent to which foreign elements replace native elements.¹

The corpus of Spanish and Quechua material collected in Calca is analysed in Chapters III and IV with reference to the degree of integration of borrowed elements and to types of loans and their modifications. Word counts were also made of the corpus, to assess the degree of interference, and these are summarised on pages 59 and 86 and included in the Appendix, pages 285-286.

(c) Fieldwork

I was very fortunate in being able to spend time in Calca on two separate field trips. The first was from December 1969 until September 1970, and the second was from December 1971 until January 1972. A total of about eleven months was spent actually working in Calca, and another three months (from September to November 1969) were spent within the Department of Cuzco, engaged on the investigation into primary school bilingualism previously referred to (page 1 above).

The town of Calca was chosen as the location for the research for three main reasons. Firstly it seemed an ideal place in which to study Spanish-Quechua language contact within its social context, because from previous visits over several years I knew that it was a small market town with political, legal and commercial representation, whose contacts upwards in the organisational hierarchy were with the departmental capital, Cuzco. Thus I expected Spanish to be in regular use in the town in all these contexts. But I also knew that the

1. Mackey 1968, p. 573.

Quechua-speaking communities (or parcialidades) in the surrounding districts, such as Lliphlleq and Yanahuaylla, also have close ties with Calca, since the main market is located there, and all legal and administrative affairs — the registration of births and deaths, the collection of mail, etc. — have to be dealt with in the offices in town. So it was reasonable to expect that Quechua would also be in use in the parallel contexts in Calca. I hoped, in the course of the investigation, to discover the relative roles of the two languages and the influence of each on the other. Calca was chosen in the second place because I already had contacts there, and this would make the initial stages of investigation much easier. (In the earlier attempt at investigation in the schools I had realised how time-consuming, and at the same time how essential, was the establishment of good relations with informants and official sources of information.) Finally, as I have mentioned previously (page 1), some work on the Spanish of this area had already been carried out by members of the Centre for Latin American Linguistic Studies of the University of St. Andrews. I believe, from having observed several similar towns in the sierra of Southern Peru, such as Sicuani, Ayaviri, Urcos and Urubamba, that Calca is representative, socially and linguistically, of the provincial capitals in this part of Peru. The same is not true of the coastal or the north-eastern areas, where the linguistic picture is very different.

At the outset, several weeks were spent in making myself known in the town, and this delay at the outset proved worth while when I started administering the questionnaires and making the tapes. With one notable exception the informants were as helpful as they could be, and very generous with their time.

During the first weeks I also drew up the questionnaire on linguistic skills and background, basing it very largely on Mackey's

suggestions. This questionnaire is described in detail on pages 24-26 below. I decided that one hundred informants was the maximum number I could hope to deal with effectively without research assistants. They were interviewed either in their homes or their places of work, or occasionally in my home, which ensured better taping conditions and only rarely, I felt, inhibited the informant.

After a certain amount of ordinary conversation, often about the project, I administered the questionnaire, and then taped each informant in Quechua and Spanish (depending on their language skills) for roughly the same amount of time. In some cases — especially that of stories — it was impossible to limit the length of the speech (e.g. informants 74 and 79 — see list on pages 21-23). Prompting on my part was kept to a minimum, and in the majority of cases I found that informants were able and willing to talk at length into the tape-recorder on any topic which interested them. I tried to keep these topics as varied as possible, by suggesting alternatives, but inevitably certain ones, such as the fiesta patronal, the biggest event in the village year, were recurrent themes. The teachers too tended to talk about their work, but since this often shed some interesting light on language problems in teaching, I decided it was best not to interfere in the selection of topics. All the recorded material is formal, in the sense of being self-conscious, and no material was recorded between two speakers unaware of the presence of the microphone.¹ The only time this was attempted it was with disastrous results.

1. William Labov comments on the dilemma of the investigator seeking data on language: "In the main body of an interview, where information is requested and supplied, we would not expect to find the vernacular used. No matter how casual or friendly the speaker may appear to us, we can always assume that he has a more casual speech, another style in which he jokes with his friends and argues with his wife ... We are ... left with the observer's paradox: the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people /

The taped material was transcribed with the help of an informant. This included all of the Quechua material and a few difficult or obscure Spanish passages. These transcriptions were checked again on the second field trip, after they had been analysed. The transcriptions of the Quechua tapes yielded a corpus of 14,707 words, and those of the Spanish tapes a corpus of 34,298 words. These totals include all loan words and all instances of repetition. A detailed breakdown of the totals is given on pages 50 and 51 below.

(d) The selection of informants

Having decided to work with a corpus of material collected from one hundred informants in Calca, the next problem was their selection. On previous visits to Calca, and during the first few weeks of the investigation, I had become familiar with the institutions of the town — the political and legal organisation, the schools, commerce, recreational facilities, etc. I was also aware, after spending a good deal of time in lawyers' offices, that I was particularly interested in bilingualism as it related to the use of Quechua and Spanish in official life. In this sense, perhaps, the sample selected is slightly weighted towards professional people. The 1961 census figures estimate that in the distrito of Calca the urban population was 3,489 (most of these presumably actually in the urban district of Calca), and the rural population was 4,874.¹ This means that with a sample of one hundred informants of the urban population of Calca, approximately 3 per cent

people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation. The problem is of course not insoluble: we must either find ways of supplementing the formal interviews with other data, or change the structure of the interview situation by one means or another" (Labov 1971, pp. 170-71). Material recorded in Calca was supplemented by observation on less formal occasions in almost all cases.

1. República del Perú 1964, pp. 42-43.

of the population was represented in the survey.

This percentage was selected at random with regard to their linguistic skills — I had no previous knowledge of these at all. Apart from this I attempted to choose informants from all the levels of society within the town. The list in Table I includes members of the professional, upper class, the middle class, represented by the small shop-keepers, tradesmen and artisans, and the lower class — farm labourers and household servants. Clearly, this division is arbitrary, but it was not based entirely on impressionistic evidence and I believe it to be as representative a sample as possible of Calca society.

Table I below contains a list of the informants, subdivided according to occupations:-

TABLE I: List of Informants According to Types of Occupation

Ref.	Name	Occupation
<u>A. . OFFICIALS</u>		
15	Sra. M. de González ..	Post office employee
16	Sr. F. de Alfaro ..	Post office employee
22	Sr. Juan Yabarena ..	<u>Guardia civil</u>
23	Sr. Raúlfo Tito ..	" "
24	Sr. Pedro Ochoa ..	" "
25	Sr. Federico Aramayo ..	Subprefect of Calca
26	Sr. Florencio Torres ..	Secretary to the subprefect
31	Sr. Jorge Venero ..	<u>Escribano de Estado</u>
32	Sr. César Aguayo ..	Education inspector
33	Sr. Juan Aedo ..	" "
34	Sr. Walter Rojas ..	Senior education inspector
35	Sr. Francisco Pino ..	Town librarian
36	Sr. Constantino Zapata ..	Head of statistics office
39	Sr. Luis de la Torre ..	Secretary of the <u>consejo</u>
40	Sr. Ángel Saji ..	Head of the <u>Banco de la Nación</u>
41	Sr. Pedro Zúñiga ..	<u>Banco de la Nación</u> employee
44	Sr. Manuel Salinas ..	Administrator of water
45	Sr. Jorge Echegaray ..	<u>Agente fiscal</u> of Calca
54	Sr. Jorge Tang ..	Representative of the Ministry of Agriculture
59	Sr. Epifanio Echegaray ..	Treasurer of the <u>consejo</u>
86	Sr. Agustín González ..	<u>Banco de la Nación</u> employee
88	Sr. Florencio Delgado ..	<u>Alguacil</u> of the <u>juez de paz</u>
89	Sr. Luciano Pórcel ..	<u>Juez de paz</u>
94	Sr. Noé Ordóñez ..	Mayor of Calca

B. MEMBERS OF THE PROFESSIONS /

TABLE I (continued)

Ref.	Name	Occupation
B. MEMBERS OF THE PROFESSIONS		
8	Sr. Manuel Gibaja . ..	Secondary school teacher
9	Sr. Juan Hermosa	Retired primary school teacher
21	Sr. Eduardo Calderón ..	Dispensing chemist
27	Sra. Doris de Cabrera ..	Head of kindergarten
28	Sra. Emma de Gavidia ..	Kindergarten teacher
29	Srta. Noemí Estrada ..	Kindergarten teacher
30	Padre José Rical	Parish priest
43	Sr. Juvenal Alosilla ..	Head of primary school
51	Sra. Amparo de Acevedo .	Primary school teacher
52	Sra. Auxiliadora de Allende	Primary school teacher
53	Sra. Elva de Gibaja ..	Primary school teacher
58	Sra. María de Béjar ..	Primary school teacher
65	Sra. Adela de Maldonado	Nursing auxiliary
66	Srta. Adela Chacón ..	Primary school teacher
67	Sr. Rojelio Rivas . ..	Teacher of agriculture in school
69	Dr. Hernán Elescano ..	Doctor
71	Sr. Luis Venero	Retired primary school teacher
72	Sr. Paulino Torres ..	Primary school teacher
73	Sr. Eduardo de la Torre	Head of primary school
81	Sr. Alcides Castilla ..	Lawyer and farmer
92	Sr. Guillermo Cáceres ..	Head of secondary school
93	Sr. Raúl Lobón	Secondary school teacher
95	Srta. Marta Hinojosa ..	School secretary
96	Srta. Rosa Farfán . ..	Secondary school teacher
97	Srta. Irma Estrada ..	Secondary school teacher
C. SKILLED WORKERS AND ARTISANS		
18	Sr. Fernando Gamarra ..	Mechanic and lorry-driver
48	Sr. Manuel Flores . ..	Farm <u>majordomo</u>
60	Sr. Juan Calero	Tailor
85	Sr. Mariano Salas . ..	Master bread-maker
87	Sr. Emilio Guardapujlla	Carpenter
D. PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN		
3	Isidora Arteaga	
55	Irma Pacheco	
56	Noemí Ortega	
57	Valentina Lizarrazo	
74	David Carrasco	
75	Cayetano Sallo	
76	Manuel Loaiza	
77	Agustín Orqo Waranqa	
78	Nicolás Mejía	
79	Jesús Yanqui	
E. SECONDARY SCHOOL CHILDREN		
5	Juan Castilla	
6	Manuel Venero	
7	Werner Nordt	
10/.....		

TABLE I (continued)

Ref.	Name	Occupation
10	Paulina Chacón	
11	Bernadina Luna	
12	Berta Pacheco	

F. HOUSEWIVES WITH NO FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT

4	Sra. Julia de Castro	
14	Sra. Amparo de Castilla	
17	Sra. María de Miranda	
19	Sra. Ernestina de Gamarra	
42	Sra. Benedicta de Torres	
68	Sra. Carmen de Ormachea	
80	Sra. Luzmila de Vargas	
82	Sra. Lucía de Vela	
84	Srta. Irene Sosa	
98	Sra. Josefina de Campana	
100	Sra. María de Venero	

G. STUDENTS (at home or waiting for university places)

20	Sr. Raúl Vargas	
70	Srta. Gaby Vargas	

H. SMALL SHOPKEEPERS

2	Sr. Enrique Aguirre	
91	Sra. María de Carrillo	

I. FARM WORKERS, MARKET WOMEN, HOUSEHOLD SERVANTS

1	Sra. Leticia de Mendoza	Market woman
13	Srta. Luisa Tito	Maid
37	Srta. Esperanza Rojas ..	Housekeeper
38	Sr. Víctor Cuadras ..	Farm worker
46	Sr. Celso Mamani	Farm worker
47	Sr. Eduardo Mamachi ..	Farm worker
49	Sr. Encarnación Mamani .	Farm worker
50	Sr. Leonardo Mamani ..	Farm worker
61	Sr. Fermín Champi . ..	Farm worker
62	Sr. Andrés Nieble . ..	Farm worker
63	Sr. Crisóstomo Chulla ..	Farm worker
64	Sr. Justo Mirano	Farm worker
99	Srta. María Vellido ..	Maid

J. RETIRED AND UNEMPLOYED

83	Sr. Seferino Sosa . ..	Retired muleteer
90	Sr. Federico Vela . ..	Unemployed, ex-miner/farmer

(e) The linguistic questionnaire

The questionnaire which I drew up was based mainly on Mackey's important article on the description of bilingualism.¹ The aim of the questionnaire was to elicit as much information as possible about factors which might influence the linguistic skills of the informants. Some of the information obtained in the questionnaires is not referred to directly in this dissertation, but was elicited with the aim of further investigation in mind — I refer to items such as reading skills, influence of travel, etc.

The form of the questionnaire was as follows:-

1. Reference 2. Date 3. Place of interview
4. Informant's name
5. Age 6. Sex 7. Married/single
8. Place of birth 9. How long in Calca
10. Religion 11. Occupation
12. Language(s) of father
Language(s) of mother
13. When and where language(s) learned
14. Knowledge of other languages
15. Reads Spanish Writes Spanish
Reads Quechua Writes Quechua
16. Spanish/Quechua easier (own opinion)
17. Members of household/ages
18. Usual language of home
19. Language(s) of occupation
20. Language(s) of recreation
21. Language(s) of church group
22. Schooling (where/dates/grade reached)
.....
23. Bi/monolingual teaching
24. Subjects taught
25. Literacy programme/other adult education
- 26./.....

1. Mackey 1968, especially pp. 557, 559, 565.

26. Listens to radio/what programmes?
27. Has/has not radio
28. Other public entertainment
29. Reads books/newspapers/magazines
30. Correspondence: private/official/what language?
31. Travel away from immediate region
32. Military service: where?
33. Libreta electoral: has he voted?
34. Any official position in the village
35. Rough proportion of day spent with
Spanish/Quechua speakers
36. Intrinsic uses of language(s): counting
reckoning
praying
swearing/insults
joking
note-taking
37. Informant's language attitude
38. Motivation for bilingualism
39. Any notable language switching
40. Any notable interference
41. Informant apparently monolingual)
coordinate bilingual)
subordinate bilingual)
42. Interview in Spanish/Quechua
with/without interpreter
name of interpreter

There were a further five questions, but these had only to do with the processing of the information on the questionnaires and the tapes. Some questions proved, in the event, to be irrelevant. No. 24 was one of these, and so was no. 30, since no-one wrote letters in Quechua. Monolingual Quechua-speakers, receiving letters from sons or daughters in Lima, would ask someone to translate them on the spot. No. 36, relating to intrinsic uses of language, revealed very little reliable information, though it did seem that Quechua was considered the more expressive language for insults and for joking or story-telling.

The questionnaire was administered in Spanish, except to monolingual Quechua-speakers, when I used an interpreter. In the three cases

where this was necessary (informants 61, 62 and 64), the interpreter was a bilingual farmworker, well known to the informants, so that I did not feel any additional strain was put on the informants.

The value of this type of questionnaire is, I believe, fairly limited. Factual information elicited is generally reliable, but data on topics such as language attitudes is frequently belied by the evidence of the tapes. For example, I found that some informants would assure me that they were equally fluent in Quechua and Spanish, but the taped material would reveal that in fact they had much greater ease and fluency in Quechua. So it is frequently only in a rather negative way — i.e. the truth lies in what the informant does not say — that the questionnaire helps. I always tried to observe informants informally as well as during the formal interviews, and the information on bilingualism in Calca set out in Chapter II takes into account not only the evidence of the questionnaires but also that of these less formal contacts, which as Labov points out in the passage already quoted (pp. 19-20, footnote), are of great importance in obtaining reliable data.

2. The Historical Background

(a) Historical contact of Spanish and Quechua in Calca

By 1532 when Francisco Pizarro landed in Peru, the Inca empire stretched from southern Colombia southwards as far as the river Maule in Chile, and south-east into the northern corner of the Argentine: a total area of about 380,000 square miles.

There is complete agreement among the early chroniclers that Quechua (also referred to by them as quichua, lengua general, lengua

del Inca, Cosco, etc.) was the official language of the empire. Cieza de León, writing in 1553 of the people of Quito, declares:-

Estos y todos los deste reino, en más de mil y doscientas leguas, hablaban la lengua general de los ingas, que es la que se usaba en el Cuzco. Y hablábase esta lengua generalmente porque los señores ingas lo mandaban y era ley en todo su reino, y castigaban a los padres si la dejaban de mostrar a sus hijos en la niñez.¹

The priest José de Acosta, writing later, in 1590, says, "... hubo y hay muy gran diversidad de lenguas particulares y propias; pero la lengua cortesana del Cuzco corrió y corre hoy día más de mil leguas."² A modern philologist, Pedro M. Benvenuto Murrieta, believed, although he quotes no sources, that Quechua was not only the lengua general of the Inca empire but that "como idioma vulgar y antiquísimo que nadie desconocía, era empleado en las hoyas interandinas del Urubamba, del Apurímac, del Mantaro, del Marañón, y del Huallaga, en parte."³

Certainly there appears to have been contact from an early date between the Cuzco Inca and the settlements of the Vilcanota and Urubamba valleys (Calca lies on the Vilcanota). Sarmiento attributed the pacification of this area to Viracocha Inca (c.1323-1373):-

Para Sarmiento, Viracocha somete al pueblo de Pacay Cacha, en el valle de Pisac (provincia de Calca), y con muerte de su curaca, Acamaqui, derrota a los de Cayto y, además, a muchos otros pueblos situados cerca de Calca y al Cuzco, como son Mohina ... Calca ... Quinquijana (sic) ... Cobo dice que el Inca sujetó a los curacas de los pueblos vecinos del Cuzco, principalmente a los valles de Calca y riberas del río de Yucay.⁴

Later Huáscar, the brother of the unfortunate Atahualpa, built palaces

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1. Cieza de León 1922, p. 138. Rowe in 1950 (p. 137) writes: "The Inca language owes its great extent to its use as the common language of the Inca Empire (about 1438 to 1535) and to its adoption by Spanish Catholic missionaries who imposed it even on some areas which were never subject to the Empire such as Sibunday in southern Colombia and Santiago del Estero in Argentina. Its original home seems to have been a small area in the highlands of southern Peru between Andahuaylas and Combapata and it is very doubtful if it had more than half a million speakers in 1438 when the Inca expansion started."
 2. José de Acosta 1894, p. 352.
 3. Benvenuto Murrieta 1936, p. 29.
 4. Valcárcel 1964, III, p. 26

in Calca, and we may suppose that together with Yucay and Ollantaytambo, Calca was one of the resorts favoured by the Inca nobility of Cuzco.¹

By 1533 the Spaniards had occupied Cuzco, and in 1536 Calca became the headquarters of the Indian forces under Manco Inca, a half-brother of Atahualpa, who made a last-ditch stand against the Spaniards at the famous siege of Cuzco.²

Spanish-Quechua contact in this area must therefore date approximately from this year. Certainly by 1613 Calca had been organised by the Spaniards as a parroquia, within the corregimiento of Yucay.³

It is impossible to be specific about the history of linguistic contact in the Calca area after the Conquest. We may only draw inferences from the general pattern of Spanish-Quechua relationships in Peru as a whole.

(b) The post-Conquest relationship of
Spanish and Quechua in Peru

In the first years after the Conquest, there appears to have been no prejudice against Quechua. There was intermarriage between the women of the Inca nobility and the Spanish leaders.⁴ The emphasis, however, was much more on conquest and subjugation than on cooperation with the Indians, as was the case later in Paraguay,⁵ and although there was apparently no early prejudice against Quechua, it was only the church, in its zeal for making converts, which took seriously the question of learning Quechua with the aim of catechizing the Indians.

1. Valcárcel 1964, III, p. 190.

2. Hemming 1970, p. 202.

3. Valcárcel op. cit., I, p. 329.

4. See for example Hemming 1970, p. 458.

5. See above, p. 8.

In the first century after the Conquest a flood of grammars, pamphlets, sermons and catechisms was published, either in South America or in one of the Spanish centres such as Valladolid or Seville. The first Quechua grammar was printed in 1560 in Valladolid, the work of the Dominican friar, Domingo de Santo Tomás.¹ In 1582 the Concilio Limense ordered the publication of two catechisms, which were translated into several of the languages of Peru. The grammar of the Jesuit, Diego de Torres Rubio, originally published in 1603, ran to four editions, each one being revised or having further vocabularies added to it. Diego González Holguín's grammar appeared in four volumes in 1607. In 1649 the archbishop Villagómez published a bilingual tract against the idolatry of the Indians, and a celebrated volume of thirty-two sermons explaining Christian doctrine. These works were outstanding among a flood of lesser grammars and treatises. Despite the volume of writing, all publications had to be examined and approved before printing by the officials of the district Audiencia.

Bernabé Cobo has left us a contemporary account of the kind of linguistic interference which was already occurring at this time. In 1653 he writes:-

Han tomado de nosotros muchos vocablos, que han acomodado a su lengua, por donde los entendemos menos que los suyos propios. Porque usando deste verbo, "azotar", dicen ellos Azutini; y a este modo los demás. Los vocablos mas frecuentes de los nuestros que han introducido en su lengua, son todos los significativos de los misterios de nuestra santa Fé, de nuestras ciencias, artes y oficios, y de sus instrumentos y adherentes; de todas las cosas que habemos traído de Europa y ellos no las conocían antes, porque con la misma cosa han recebido (sic) el nombre della; y otras voces y dicciones comunes, como son perdón y perdonar, porque lo que ellos tenían para esto significa propiamente olvidar. Item los verbos de vender, comprar y pagar, que él que ellos usaban para vender, significa trocar una cosa por otra; y otros innumerables; conque su lengua se ha enriquecido y aumentado con nuestros

1. The source for the details in this section of the decline and fall of Quechua from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries is Mendiburu 1902, pp. 5-12.

vocablos mucho más que la nuestra con lo que nosotros habemos tomado dellos.¹

The University of San Marcos in Lima had been founded in 1576, and a chair of Quechua was established there in 1580 by the first bishop of Lima, Gerónimo de Loayza, to teach Quechua to the priests who were to work in Indian parishes. This chair was maintained for two centuries. Among the catedráticos was the bishop of Cuzco, Juan Rojón Mesía. It appears that only Jesuits were allowed to study Quechua in Lima and law 56, title 22 of the first Libro de las Indias prohibited the ordination of any priest who had not proved that he had perfect command of Quechua.² This law extended even to Indian priests, who had to have their qualifications on paper.

There was much debate about the wisdom of allowing the Indians to continue using their own languages, but in general, opinion was in favour of catechizing in Quechua, and of allowing the native population freedom of choice about learning Spanish. Several writers, including José de Acosta and Garcilaso Inca de la Vega, declared that the Indians should not be deprived of their language, and that it was the responsibility of the Spaniards to learn Quechua.

The first hint of opposition to these enlightened views appears in the writing of Solórzano y Pereira, the Oidor of the Audiencia of Lima, who reminded his Spanish readers that "los españoles perdieron su idioma cuando fueron dominados por los romanos y por los árabes".³ The Spaniards had forbidden the Moors remaining in Spain to read or

1. Cobo 1890-95, IV, pp. 157-8.

2. Mendiburu 1902, p. 10, but no sources are quoted.

3. Mendiburu (pp. 10-11) gives no sources for this reference, but it is in fact to the Política Indiana sacada en la lengua castellana de los dos tomos del derecho i gobierno municipal de las Indias occidentales que más copiosamente escribió en la Latina ... J. de Solórzano y Pereira, Madrid, 1648, Book II, Chapter 26, Article 12. The entire chapter is devoted to the question of language but articles 12-14 and 23 are of particular interest.

write Arabic. The officials in Lima no doubt also recalled that it had been the policy of the Incas themselves to insist on the speaking of Quechua throughout the empire. It was the bishop of Cuzco who finally requested the Council of Lima, and the King, to make legal the teaching of Spanish to the Indians. By 1605 all instruction in the schools (which were of course all religious foundations at that time) was officially in Spanish. In law 18, title 1, Book 6 of the Libro de las Indias there is a defence of this change of policy. The languages of Peru, it is declared, were so diverse that it was impossible for the Indians to be instructed in the mysteries of the faith, even if the priests were fluent in Quechua. From now on Spanish was to be taught to all the Indians, although no force was to be used.

A royal decree of May 10th, 1770, abolished the chair of Quechua at San Marcos. It was replaced by a chair of moral philosophy in 1784, at the request of the Viceroy, Don Agustín de Jáuregui. Formal teaching of Quechua in Peru had, for the time being, come to an end. As Benvenuto Murrieta points out,

La medida no pudo ser más inconsulta y desacertada, porque de un lado suprimía un estudio siempre utilísimo y de otro, con ello nada se ganaba para la divulgación del romance ya que era disposición simplemente negativa.¹

However this may be, political events in the years following the abolition of education in Quechua no doubt added weight to the arguments of those such as Solórzano y Pereira. In 1780 the rebellion of Tupac Amaru II broke out in the southern highlands, and as one writer has put it, "Al notarse la efervescencia revolucionaria y producirse sucesivos brotes de movimientos rebeldes para romper el vínculo colonial se temió al quechua, considerándolo como un eventual instrumento revolucionario."²

1. Benvenuto Murrieta 1936, p. 48.

2. Delgado Vivanco-Moscoso 1972, p. 15.

While the relative status of Quechua and Spanish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been the subject of a certain amount of work on the part of scholars, it is difficult to obtain specific information on the situation in the following two centuries. Benvenuto Murrieta points out that the use of Quechua in catechizing the Indian population had the effect of spreading Quechua beyond the areas in which it was spoken at the time of the Conquest, and replacing other indigenous languages, particularly Aymará.¹ This occurred in areas such as the highlands of Arequipa — the provinces of La Unión and Cailloma, now Quechua-speaking, are believed to have been Aymará areas at the time of the Conquest.

On the other hand, in the coastal region indigenous languages gave place relatively quickly to Spanish. In the seventeenth century large numbers of people on the coast still spoke their own native languages. In the 1630s about 14,000 people in the departments of Piura, La Libertad and Lambayeque still spoke their own languages.² Benvenuto Murrieta believed that by the beginning of the nineteenth century most of the coastal and northern jungle departments were Spanish-speaking, except for the isolated jungle tribes, and the few enclaves where Quechua is still spoken today, as in San Martín. He attributes the rapidity of this process to the alarming rate of depopulation of the lowlands, due to the exploitation of the encomienda system. Thousands fled to the highlands, and for those who were left the ability to speak Spanish was essential for survival in a Spanish-ruled trade system.

Meanwhile in the highlands Quechua continued to flourish. The much larger numbers of the Indian population and their relative isolation

1. See above, p. 27 fn. 1.

2. Benvenuto Murrieta 1936, p. 51, but no sources are given

contributed to its importance. José María Blanco, chaplain to President Orbegoso on his visit to Cuzco in 1837, wrote:

La población del Cuzco asciende como se ha dicho a cuarenta mil habitantes de toda edad, sexo y condición. De estos, las dos terceras partes sólo entienden y hablan el idioma llamado Quichua. La nobleza, y muchos otros poseen los idiomas castellano y quichua.¹

As in the case of the coastal and the jungle areas where Quechua was still spoken, so in the highlands there were places where Quechua died out completely, such as the province of Pallasca in Ancash.²

The situation in the republic at the end of the nineteenth century remains very largely unchanged today. Rowe, on the basis of the figures presented in the 1940 Peruvian census, estimated that of a total population of 7,023,111 a total of 3,102,996 were Quechua speakers (including bilinguals). Of these, probably 2,589,000 were native speakers of Quechua, having it as their first language. Sixty per cent of these speakers lived south of Huancayo and spoke the Cuzco or Ayacucho dialects — about thirty per cent each.³

1. Benvenuto Murietta 1936, p. 54.

2. Ibid.

3. Rowe 1947, p. 210. Information on language in the case of the 1961 census has proved impossible to obtain.

C H A P T E R T W O

CHAPTER II

THE BILINGUAL COMMUNITY

1. Introduction

It has already been emphasized in the previous chapter that an investigation of a case of bilingualism should present as comprehensive a picture as possible of the historical and social background of the particular case, in order that the presentation of the linguistic data may be as meaningful as possible.

The historical events which have a bearing on the situation in Calca have been described on pages 26-33. This chapter will be concerned with a description of the material culture and social institutions of Calca and will attempt to evaluate the nature of language contact in the town and the roles played by the two languages. While the material in this chapter is clearly not the analysis of a social anthropologist, I believe it to be as comprehensive a description as is necessary for the understanding of the linguistic data set out in Chapters III and IV and in the corpus of material on pages 136 to 281.

2. Present-day Calca

Calca is the capital of one of the provinces of the Department of Cuzco. The provincia of Calca comprises the distritos of Calca, Coya, Lamay, Lares, Písaq and San Salvador and in 1961 had a total population of 39,320. The distrito of Calca itself had a population of 8,363 of

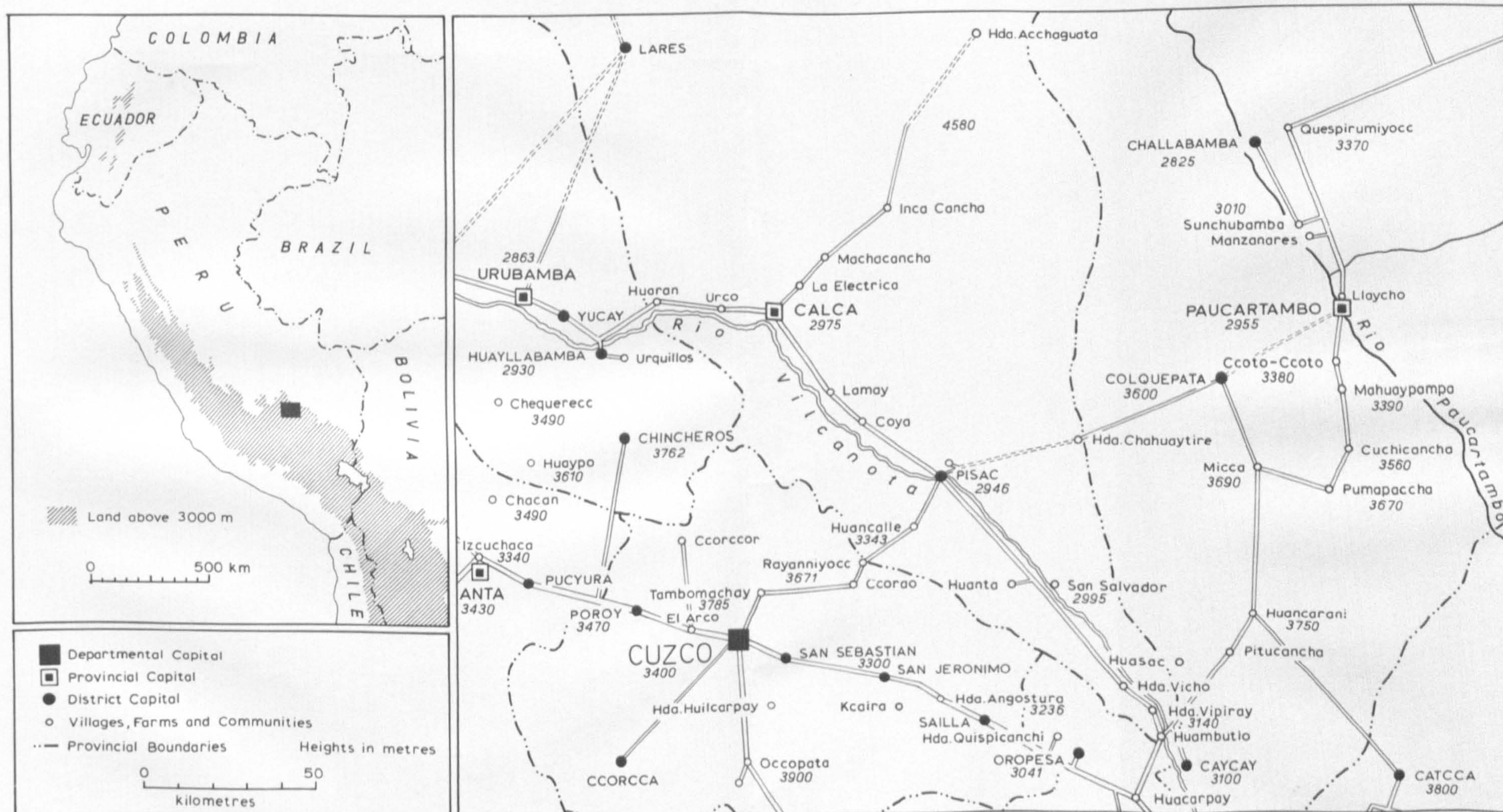
which 3,489 were classed as urban and 4,874 as rural.¹

Calca lies at a height of approximately 9,800 feet above sea level, on the Vilcanota river, at a point where three valleys converge: to the north the Lares valley drops down towards the Paucartambo river, while to the south-east of the town the Vilcanota valley gradually rises towards the puna country around La Raya. The same river — the Vilcanota — continues in a north-westerly direction when it reaches Calca, becoming the Urubamba at some unspecified point on its way down towards Machu Picchu and Quillabamba (see map, following page).

The town of Calca is surrounded by mountains which shelter it during the coldest months of the dry season — June and July — although snow has been known to fall there very occasionally. On the north-east of the town is the monte del Calvario with a large wooden crucifix on the summit; westwards is the puna of Qanqan with the snow peaks of Pitusiray, Sawasiray and Huamanchoque, and to the south the mountain area called Qonqon. The small Indian communities or parcialidades which come within the jurisdiction of Calca are found on the slopes or in the folds of these mountains. Although it is less of a resort for the population of Cuzco than the towns of Yucay and Urubamba, which lie further to the north-west, Calca is visited by a large number of people who come to bathe in the two mineral springs of Machacancha and Minas Moqo.

There is very good arable land on the floor of the Calca valley. The outstanding crop is a large-grained white maize, unique to this

1. These are the figures given in the interim volume of results of the 1961 census (see República del Perú 1964, pp. 42-43). No further breakdown of the urban and rural populations is offered, but the figure given for the urban population must apply to Calca itself, and I would tentatively suggest that this figure would remain largely unaltered by 1970 when the fieldwork was undertaken, because of a fairly large migrant population — the 1961 census offers the figure of 6,510 for the whole province (ibid.).



area, and largely exported to the United States. Potatoes, barley, wheat and most vegetables flourish, and apples, pears, plums and peaches are also grown, although not on any large commercial scale. Tropical fruit is brought in to the Calca market by lorry from the eastern valleys. The hardier crops such as potatoes, ollucos (an edible tuber) and quinua (a high-protein cereal) are grown on the more exposed land around the parcialidades and on the higher-altitude farms. Apart from the fruit trees, eucalyptus, willows, capulí and molle trees grow thickly along the valley, but the tree line ends abruptly on the mountains above the town at about 11,500-12,000 feet.

There are cattle, sheep and pigs on most of the farms around Calca, and most families possess at least one or two animals. Llamas and alpacas are rarely seen in Calca itself, but they are common in the Indian communities.

The town itself is built on colonial lines, with the main streets bearing the names of Independence heroes or famous Inca leaders and converging at right angles on the large central square which is almost cut in half by the church and the market which lie back to back. At one end of the square there is a small formal garden, with shrubs and a fountain. It is overlooked on one side by the consejo municipal, the most imposing building in the town, and on the other sides by the post office and some of the larger private houses. The main square is paved, but none of the streets is, and in the rainy season they are thick with mud. The houses in Calca are mostly two-storey, built of adobe, and with tiled roofs. Usually they are built around a courtyard, which in the wealthier homes is used as a garden.

The main water supply comes from a lake above Huamanchoque, channelled down into a reservoir and piped into the town. Most houses have a tap, though the poorer families obtain their water from the open

irrigation ditches running down some of the streets, or else from the river. There is a fairly reliable, privately-owned electric light supply.

3. Social Organization of Calca

Calca is the political, legal, educational and religious centre of the province. The representatives of national government are the subprefecto, appointed from Lima, and the agente fiscal (whose position is roughly equivalent to the American district attorney), whose appointment is also ratified by the Supreme Court in Lima. Local government is carried out by the consejo municipal, presided over by the alcalde, who is also appointed from the capital. The consejo of each provincial capital varies in size according to the importance of the province. In Calca it is made up of the alcalde, the teniente alcalde, two síndicos who are responsible for income and expenditure, and eleven regidores. These men are members of the middle and upper classes in the town — school-teachers, owners of the larger shops or farms or functionaries of various kinds. There are no peasant members of the Calca consejo. In the outlying Indian communities, the highest authorities are the teniente gobernador and the personero, who is usually an Indian. These officials are often to be seen in Calca, reporting at the consejo or arranging the faenas — the communal work, such as sweeping the square, which is carried out by men from the various communities in turn.

The chief legal authorities in the town are the juez de primera instancia, the juez de paz and the juez de menores. These all have their secretaries or alguaciles, and have offices situated near the town centre. There are also various lawyers and notaries public with

private businesses. The police station is presided over by the jefe de linea, and manned by about eight guardias, many of them from outside the province, and often from the towns on the coast. Frequent changes in postings seem to be a policy of the guardia civil. Prisoners in the town gaol, adjoining the police station, either cook for themselves or are looked after by their families.

A team of educational supervisors is in charge of the educational needs of the province, and has its headquarters in a modern building in Calca. They have to travel long distances to the more remote communities, and often have to be able to advise on a wide variety of topics, such as child care, vaccination of cattle, legal problems and plumbing. The ones I had the good fortune to meet were admirable people, very conscious of the problems of community development.

The Colegio Humberto Luna is the secondary school in Calca, with separate buildings for boys and girls. There are five primary schools in various parts of the town, and one kindergarten. Teachers in the schools are not all local people, and frequently come from non-Quechua-speaking areas. A room in the secondary school is used for showing films once or twice a week — usually Mexican or American feature films. The public address system in the municipalidad broadcasts news and music for most of the day, and there are always radios switched on in the shops. No-one in Calca possesses a television set. The schools often put on plays and actuaciones, and displays of dancing are given by troupes from Puno. The most interesting cultural experiment in Calca during my first period of fieldwork was the opening of a little café called the Club 31. It was set up by a local man who taught art in the secondary school and had seen the need for a meeting-place for the young people in the town. He opened one of the rooms of his own house, decorating it with his own paintings or those of his friends, and

people could meet there to talk and debate or play chess and listen to records or debate with various speakers from the university in Cuzco. It was the only meeting-place of this kind in the town, but lack of support had forced it to close by the time I returned in 1971. In the municipalidad there is a small library, open in the evenings and largely stocked with books supplied by the Alliance for Progress. Adults or children who for some reason cannot go to school in the normal hours may attend night school.

The religious life of the town centres on the parish church in the main square. The priest has the help of a sacristan, and is responsible also for church affairs in outlying communities. He also teaches religious education in the secondary school. There is an evangelical Protestant church in Calca, but its influence on the religious life of the town is minimal. The various festivals of the church's calendar culminate in Calca with the fiesta patronal of August 15th, the Feast of the Assumption. The other main festival is Corpus Cristi. The fiesta patronal continues over several days, and the square fills up with stalls set up by folk from the surrounding areas who pour in for the biggest market of the year. The religious side of the festival is organized and financed by a different citizen of Calca each year. He or she is known as the carguyoc or prioste, and the responsibilities of the job include obtaining and paying the musicians and troupes of dancers who take part in the procession of the Virgen Asunta, and providing food and drink for them and a large number of important guests. The carguyoc is usually a volunteer, often someone who has had a miraculous cure at the hands of the village saint. If no volunteer is forthcoming, the priest appoints the carguyoc for the following year. It is rare, though, for this to happen, because the assumption of the responsibilities of the cargo guarantees social prestige in the town,

even though it often leaves the person in debt for many years.

Calca is an important trading centre. There are no commercial banks, but the Banco de la Nación controls all the traffic in tobacco and coca and levies the provincial predios urbanos and predios rústicos. The economic life of the town centres on agriculture. There is no industry at all. The farms around the town vary in size from small-holdings of one or two hectares to enormous areas of land which may stretch from the valley floor right up to the punas. Many of the owners of large farms also own land in the eastern valleys. To date the farms in this valley, with one exception, have not been affected by the Reforma Agraria of President Velasco. Several of the wealthier farmers who grow the white maize belong to the Cooperativa Valle Sagrado de los Incas, a cooperative formed some time ago to facilitate the export of the maize and the import of farm machinery. Recently efforts were being made to bring this cooperative more into line with government requirements. There is a sub-office of the Ministry of Agriculture in Calca, with a trained agricultural engineer who is available to advise on farming and on legal problems connected with the Reforma Agraria.

Local produce is sold daily in the market, which is the focal point of town life every morning. It is considerably larger on Sundays and lasts for most of the day. On week-days the sellers are local women, offering fruit and vegetables grown on their own small-holdings or bought for re-sale from local farms. Meat is sold subject to quite stringent regulations, and bread is baked two or three times a day in large clay ovens fired with eucalyptus wood and leaves. At the Sunday market there are many sellers from the surrounding communities such as Yanahuaylla and Lliphlleq, selling small heaps of potatoes or chuñu (dehydrated potatoes), in order to be able to buy commodities such as salt and liquor.

Apart from the market there are many shops of various sizes selling dry goods, liquor, kerosene, cloth, sweets, medicines and clothes. There are very few everyday commodities which cannot be bought in Calca, though dairy products such as butter and cheese are usually taken by the farmers to Cuzco, since they obtain better prices there.

There is no tradition of native crafts in Calca, and no shops selling tourist goods. Pottery arrives sporadically from centres such as Pucará and San Pedro de Cacha, and any weaving done locally is purely utilitarian — blankets and rugs for personal use. There are two or three tailors, two shoe-makers, a carpenter, various barbers and cantina proprietors. The eating-places are used by travellers passing through, and by the teachers who do not have permanent homes in Calca.

Communications with Calca are all by road. The nearest railway stations are at Huambutío, about twenty-five kilometres to the south-east on the Cuzco-Puno line, and Pachar, about twenty kilometres north-west on the line between Cuzco and Quillabamba. Post arrives in Calca about three times a week by bus from Cuzco. There are no telephones, but telegrams may be sent from the post office. There are several bus routes to and from Calca, the most frequent service being into Cuzco, a journey of about two and half hours by bus, and about an hour and a quarter by car. The few cars in Calca are owned by the more prosperous farmers, the parish priest and the doctor.

There is only one doctor in Calca, who divides his time between the posta médica in the town and the regional hospital in Cuzco. The posta is a modern building, with a dispensary and a few beds for temporary patients. The doctor is helped by a male sanitario and an auxiliary nurse. There is one dentist in the town and one or two curanderos, practitioners of folk medicine or specialists in setting

bones. The queues at the posta médica seemed to consist mainly of mestizos and Indians. The better-class people generally attend a doctor in Cuzco.

It is difficult to be categorical about the distinction between the Indian and the mestizo. The most reliable indicator is still undoubtedly language.¹ In Calca it was possible to distinguish three main types of person, particularly on a fiesta day, when a much larger number of Indians would be present in town. The upper and upper-middle classes could be seen in European-type dress, would speak Spanish among themselves and were, in general, well-known members of the community — teachers, officials, shopkeepers of the more prosperous type, and farmers of the larger estates. The middle class is a much more difficult one to define — dress may vary from European style to a mixture of European and Indian elements. The women may go barefoot, but wear the whitewashed stiff hat and flounced blouse of the mestiza, while the man beside her wears denim trousers and trilby-type hat. A couple like this may speak to each other in Quechua or Spanish, but generally the man and often the woman will be bilingual. The Indians are a group apart, and this is never more obvious than at the fiesta patronal when they arrive early in the morning to erect the descansos in the corners of the plaza. These are a type of altar, decorated with ribbons and old silver coins, where the procession will halt for the Virgin to bless the descanso and the Indian community responsible for it. These Indians are dressed in homespun woollen cloth, usually black, decorated with coloured borders, and with coloured blouses and

1. See for example Rowe 1947, p. 214: "In most of Peru language is certainly the best single guide to social class, and the language returns /of the 1940 census/ probably indicate the socially Indian population with greater exactness than the classification by 'race', which must have been made in practice by skin colour and form of features."

ponchos. Their hats are flat, made of woven straw covered with woollen cloth, and they are barefoot or else wear ojotas, the sandals made from strips of rubber from old tyres. They remain quite isolated from the townspeople, spending the whole day in their own groups, talking and drinking. Their language is always Quechua, except when a man has to speak with a town official, and even then the language used will usually be Quechua. No informants of this sector of society were interviewed, since they were resident in the parcialidades, not in Calca itself.

In the following sections the use of the two languages will be described in greater detail, with reference to the informants interviewed in Calca, and the brief sketch given above of the social types found in Calca supplemented with examples.

4. Bilingualism in Calca

(a) Introduction

The purpose of the questionnaire which was administered to the informants (pages 24-25) was to try and discover the linguistic background of each one and to see whether any conclusions might be reached about the circumstances and pressures affecting bilingualism in the town. This section will set out some of the conclusions, albeit tentative, which analysis of the questionnaires suggested.

In all but two cases it was apparent that an informant's first language (i.e. the language in which he had most facility, usually his mother tongue) was learned from childhood, at home. Our attention will therefore be focused in the following sections on the reasons behind the acquisition of Quechua and Spanish as second languages. For the sake of brevity, subordinate bilinguals are

referred to as (1S:2Q) if their first language is Spanish and their second Quechua, and as (1Q:2S) in the opposite case. Incipient bilinguals are referred to as (S) if the productive language is Spanish, and as (Q) if their productive language is Quechua.

(b) The acquisition of Spanish as a second language

Of the 100 informants, 19 stated that Spanish was their second language.¹ All these informants either had parents who were both subordinate bilinguals (1Q:2S) or they had a father who was a subordinate bilingual (1Q:2S) or (1S:2Q) and a mother who only spoke Quechua. From the information elicited in the questionnaires, it appeared that several of the pressures which influence language learning, mentioned by Mackey, had affected the language abilities of these informants.² The most important of these pressures was clearly education. Twelve informants indicated that schooling had played the biggest part in their acquisition of Spanish. In the vast majority of Peruvian schools, teaching is carried out wholly in Spanish, and the Quechua-speaking child must acquire Spanish rapidly if he is to gain any benefit from his education.³

In the case of the other seven informants, a number of pressures had influenced their acquisition of Spanish. For three of them it was economic necessity (informants 1, 2 and 85). They were tradespeople who frequently had to deal with Spanish-speaking customers or commercial

1. These were informants 1, 2, 3, 13, 22, 38, 42, 46, 47, 49, 50, 63, 74, 78, 79, 83, 85, 87, 99.

2. For details of these linguistic pressures, see pp. 8-9 above.

3. Since 1953 the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Peru has organised a training scheme for teachers in bilingual education, but this has applied mainly to the languages of the jungle tribes (see Comas 1962, pp. 126-7). A discussion of the current prospects for bilingual education will be found in Chapter V.

travellers from urban centres such as Cuzco. Informants 13 and 99 were employed as maids in Spanish-speaking households, and informants 22 and 87 had spent time in Lima learning their trades — one had attended the police college, and the other had been apprenticed to a carpenter.

It would be very misleading to categorise every case of second language acquisition under the heading of one type of pressure or influence only. Although education in Spanish is the most easily-defined influence, there are almost always traces of other influences. Several of the informants spoke of the ambiente — their milieu or environment — referring to the constant mixture of the two languages in the town. The cultural pressures — those of the press and radio particularly — are almost all in favour of Spanish. There are a few radio programmes in Quechua, including daily broadcasts from Havana and Moscow and some religious programmes, such as that of the Maryknoll Fathers and the evangelical Protestant programme on Radio Sicuani. A small amount of commercial advertising is done in Quechua too. Almost everything published in Quechua is written by academics or enthusiasts, and is certainly not intended for an Indian audience. There is no Quechua press. Missionaries have been the most active in producing reading materials in Quechua — these include the New Testament, health manuals and literacy materials. Further discussion of the implications of the influence of Spanish will be found in subsection f below (pp. 55-56).

(c) The acquisition of Quechua as a second language

Forty-one informants stated that they spoke Quechua (or in two cases, Aymará) as a second language.¹ All but two of these described

1. These were informants 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 28, /.....

their parents as subordinate bilinguals (1S:2Q or Aymará), or they had fathers who were subordinate bilinguals (1S:2Q) and mothers who only spoke Spanish.

It is more difficult to be conclusive about the circumstances of the acquisition of Quechua as a second language than it is about Spanish. The influences are less clearly defined. Informants referred most frequently to their ambiente. When questioned more closely they often revealed that this had been the daily contact, as children, with the household maids. These were very often the daughters of Indian employees on the family farm, who were sent to do service in the household in fulfilment of their obligations to their padrino — a form of patronage which has been in existence since colonial times.¹ In the case of boys or men, Quechua was often learned from contact with the labourers on the family farm.

There was a clear division between this kind of casual (though very effective) language contact and the purposeful language acquisition we have described in the previous subsection, where a knowledge of Spanish was essential for education or economic reasons. The only informants who had purposely acquired Quechua were teachers who had either attended a course during teacher training or, having realised the problems of not being able to speak Quechua in a rural school, had been to private classes in Cuzco. One informant, having spoken only Spanish until the age of twenty-six, had then married and inherited a farm, and learned Quechua in order to work effectively with the farm labourers.

Two informants (11 and 20) stated that they had parents whose

28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 39, 40, 43, 44, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58, 67, 68, 71, 81, 82, 84, 86, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98.

1. Cf. the Huave case described by Diebold (1961, p. 59). An excellent account of compadrazgo in a Peruvian community is to be found in Martínez 1964, pp. 105-114.

first language was Quechua, but whose own first language was Spanish. Subsequent conversation and taping confirmed their assertion. They were both young people, educationally very ambitious and anxious not to emphasize their Indian background. It is probable that the very small proportion of this kind of informant in the Calca sample may be a distortion. The rate of migration from the sierra to the coast must have increased the numbers of individuals who have come from Quechua-speaking homes, but who now speak Spanish with greater ease.¹

It is clear that we do not have in Calca the kind of extreme case of a minority language cited by Diebold, where Huave was only learned by Spanish speakers in a few isolated cases, such as that of Protestant missionaries or the occasional merchant coming in to trade from outside the Huave area.² The entire Huave population in Oaxaca does not exceed about 8,000 people, a very different figure from the approximate five and a half million Quechua speakers in Peru, of whom about fifty per cent are native speakers.³

The pressures exerted on the Spanish speaker in the sierra to acquire a knowledge of Quechua come under three main headings — demographic, economic and cultural. In the distrito of Calca there is a larger percentage of rural population than of urban, and this rural percentage will almost certainly be largely Quechua-speaking.⁴ This

1. See above, p. 35 fn. 1. The 1961 census estimated the number of emigrants from the province of Calca at 6,510, of whom 676 went to Lima (see República Peruana 1964, p. 65).

2. Diebold 1961, p. 73.

3. It has proved very difficult to obtain exact information on the numbers of Quechua speakers in Peru. For Rowe's figures based on the 1940 census see above, p. 33. A figure of 6 million is cited in Delgado Vivanco-Moscoso 1972, p. 15. Peruvian census figures on language are in any case misleading, since only persons of 5 years and older are counted, although it is usually assumed that children will speak their parents' language.

4. In 1961 there were 22 comunidades indígenas registered in the province of Calca (see Comas 1962, p. 115).

demographic pressure certainly made itself felt in the administrative life of Calca — several lawyers and agricultural advisers spoke of the problems of coping with the large numbers of Quechua-speaking clients. Economically, too, the Indian cannot be ignored — at sowing times and during harvesting the main labour force in the valley consists of the Indians from the communities who help with the seasonal work. Cultural pressures fall mainly within the sphere of compadrazgo: the obligations of the padrino to his ahijado are binding, and he must take part in weddings and baptisms and the celebrations which follow them. At those I witnessed in Calca, the padrino was usually a member of the upper class, a prosperous farmer or trader, while his ahijado or ahijada might be an employee or the son or daughter of an employee, and the celebrations after the marriage or baptism would be held in a Quechua-speaking home. The padrinos would join in the dancing of huaynos and invariably talk and joke in Quechua, especially as the serious drinking began.

The section of the questionnaire which dealt with the intrinsic uses of language was, on the whole, inconclusive, but it seemed that in bilingual company Quechua was often used in preference to Spanish for telling jokes and for insults. Informants with more knowledge of Quechua than of Spanish tended to use Quechua for counting and reckoning. One informant said that she knew the set prayers in Spanish but that her extempore prayer was always in Quechua. In the case of Protestant converts (e.g. 38 and 42) who were subordinate bilinguals (1Q:2S), Quechua was invariably used for public extempore prayer, even when the rest of the service was conducted in Spanish.

(d) Coordinate bilingualism

Twenty-six of the hundred informants declared that they were

equally fluent in Spanish and Quechua — that is, they were coordinate bilinguals in whose Quechua there should, theoretically, have been little or no interference from Spanish and in whose Spanish there would be almost no interference from Quechua.¹ However, a word count of the transcriptions of their taped speech does not reveal such a clear pattern. Tables IIA and IIB on pages 50-51 show the total number of words in the Spanish and Quechua tapes,

and the number of loan words in each case.

They also list the topic of each interview.

A comparison of Tables IIA and IIB showed that the requirements for coordinate bilingualism were, in general, present in the case of the Spanish tapes, since the Quechua loans which occurred could all be classified as integrated loans, not cases of interference. These loans are discussed in Chapter III.

But Table B shows a very different picture. The number of loan words from Spanish into Quechua is very much higher, and they are not by any means confined to integrated loans. In fact only in the case of informant 9 and informant 18 is there any really large discrepancy between the total number of words recorded and the number of Spanish loans. In the first case, the topic chosen was a Quechua folk tale, so that the necessity to introduce Spanish loan words was minimal, and in fact these were confined to interjections such as éste and pero. In the second case, Spanish words were generally consciously introduced to explain Quechua agricultural terms — an instance of language switching rather than interference. Informants 75, 76 and 77 also chose to tell folk stories, and the amount of interference was correspondingly low.

1. The same criteria were used in the Spanish-Huave study by Diebold (1961, p. 75). The informants in question are 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 23, 24, 33, 36, 41, 45, 48, 57, 59, 60, 66, 73, 75, 76, 77, 88, 89, 91, 94, 96.

TABLE IIA: Spanish Tapes

Ref.	Total words	Quechua words	Topics
9	456	23	An account of the informant's childhood and history of Calca.
10	400	1	An account of the festival of Corpus Cristi in Calca.
15	312	10	An account of a holiday spent in Puno.
16	924	9	Another account of the Corpus Cristi festival in Calca.
17	525	4	The story of the informant's life.
18	350	14	An account of the informant's lorry-driving business and farm.
23	532	5	The story of the informant's entry into the police force, and training.
24	217	4	An account of a murder in the town, and the police investigation.
33	280	1	The work of the itinerant auxiliary education supervisors.
36	406	1	The informant's job as registrar in Calca.
41	371	20	The production of <u>coca</u> for consumption.
45	420	0	The work of the <u>agente fiscal</u> .
48	171	1	The story of the informant's life.
57	154	4	Account of a journey to Lima.
59	336	11	The work of the treasurer of the municipality.
60	210	4	His work as a tailor, and on his smallholding.
66	455	10	The informant's work as a rural schoolteacher.
72	224	9	Marriage customs in the Baucartambo region.
75	812	0	The folk tale of <u>Juan de Pavocha</u> .
76	350	0	A folk tale about three children and witches.
77	329	4	A folk tale about a wise donkey.
88	231	0	The informant's work as <u>alguacil</u> to one of the judges.
89	441	0	The functioning of the various tribunals in Calca.
91	252	8	The informant's job as proprietor and cook in a <u>cantina</u> .
94	525	13	The informant's preoccupations in his position as mayor of Calca.
96	462	1	The informant's job as teacher and student adviser in the girls' secondary school.
	<u>10,045</u>	<u>160</u>	(TOTALS)

TABLE IIB: Quechua Tapes

Ref.	Total words	Spanish words	Topics
9	491	11	The legend of the farm of Urco outside Calca.
10	127	37	A school outing to Písaq.
15	120	53	The work of the informant's parents.
16	153	109	Marriage customs in Calca.
17	285	103	The story of the informant's life.
18	585	85	Farming methods in the <u>sierra</u> .
23	273	88	The informant's childhood in San Salvador.
24	65	21	A murder in the town and the police investigation.
33	128	38	The work of the education inspectors in community development.
36	162	72	The process of recording births and deaths in Calca.
41	128	38	The production of <u>coca</u> on a commercial basis.
45	171	46	The work of the informant as <u>agente fiscal</u> , and the importance of Quechua.
48	77	24	The work of the informant as a farm <u>mayordomo</u> .
57	133	45	The death of the informant's father in a road accident.
59	149	57	The organization of the <u>faena</u> in Calca.
60	133	45	The feast of the Assumption as it used to be in Calca.
66	230	87	The use of Quechua and Spanish in education.
72	127	39	The ceremony of the sprinkling of cattle with <u>chicha</u> .
75	158	43	Part of the <u>Juan de Pavocha</u> folk story.
76	172	25	The end of the story of the children and the witches.
77	197	51	Part of the story of the wise donkey and the fox.
88	71	30	The informant's experience of army life.
89	190	73	The use of Spanish and Quechua in legal proceedings.
91	75	24	The purchase of food stuffs for the informant's <u>cantina</u> .
94	80	8	The laying of the foundation stone for a new school.
96	103	13	The celebration of the festival of the <u>Inti Raymi</u> in Cuzco.
	<u>4,272</u>	<u>1,135</u>	(TOTALS)

On the other hand the amount of Spanish interference in the transcriptions of informants such as 15 amounted to almost fifty per cent.

I believe that we may only speak of coordinate bilingualism in the case of Spanish and Quechua speakers if we recognise that it is always topic-related. A truly coordinate bilingual in, say, English and German would be capable of telling a story and describing some mechanical process in either language with equal ease. Spanish and Quechua are not equal in this sense; although some Quechua enthusiasts have tried to create loan shifts to replace loan words from Spanish (that is, they attempt to translate a word such as televisión by elements from the Quechua lexicon), these creations remain largely an academic exercise and are not in use in Quechua speech. Sometimes a kind of nickname is used, such as that of yana machu 'old black man', used by Indians in country districts for a train.

Tables IIA and IIB reveal many more instances of designative inadequacy in Quechua than in Spanish: the Spanish tapes yielded a total of 10,045 words, of which 160 were Quechua loans. The Quechua tapes gave a total of 4,272 words of which 1,135 were Spanish loans — a much larger proportion than in Table IIA. Moreover the loans from Quechua into Spanish are almost all instances of integration — names of places, animals, plants, etc.; but this is not true of the Spanish words in the Quechua tapes which are most frequently non-integrated loan words.

It is perhaps in the case of the informants calling themselves coordinate bilinguals that the direction of borrowing between Spanish and Quechua is most clearly seen — it is very obviously from Spanish into Quechua, as we would expect in a situation where Spanish is the socially dominant language.

(e) Incipient bilingualism

Fourteen informants were classed as incipient bilinguals, having only a passive knowledge of the second language and being only able to use it in an atomistic or fragmentary manner, if at all. Of the 14, 11 were Spanish speakers and the remainder Quechua speakers.¹

Of the Spanish speakers, five had parents who were monolingual in Spanish (or possibly incipient bilinguals). A further three had fathers who had some knowledge of Quechua, but mothers who were monolingual Spanish speakers. One informant had a father who was a subordinate bilingual (1S:2Q) and a mother who was a subordinate bilingual (1S:2 Aymará). The informant herself had a fragmentary knowledge of both Quechua and Aymará. The remaining two of the Spanish-speaking informants had parents who were either coordinate bilinguals or subordinate bilinguals (1S:2Q). These two informants appeared to be just on the borderline between incipient and subordinate bilingualism, and seemed only to need more contact with Quechua speakers to turn a passive and atomistic knowledge into a productive one. The four informants with the least knowledge of Quechua — it did not amount even to understanding — were all born in non-Quechua-speaking areas: informant 37 came from Cajamarca, 54 and 90 from Loreto and 69 from Lima. In these places only a very small minority speak Quechua.

Practically all the Spanish-speaking incipient bilinguals regarded their inability to speak Quechua as a handicap, since nearly all of them — the doctor, the agricultural engineer, the teachers — came into daily contact with people from the Indian communities. Only in the case of one informant was there any hint of language prejudice having had any influence — informant 80 had been forbidden in childhood

1. These informants were 21, 29, 37, 51, 54, 61, 62, 64, 65, 69, 70, 80, 90, 100.

to speak Quechua at all, even with the household servants.

The background of the three Quechua-speaking incipient bilinguals was much more clear-cut. All had monolingual (or possibly incipient bilingual) parents. All had been born in Quechua-speaking areas — one in Yanahuaylla, a community above Calca, one in Azángaro on the alti-plano to the south, and one in Pomacanchi. None had had any schooling, all had monolingual Quechua-speaking wives, and the language of their homes was Quechua.¹ All three informants had a slight receptive knowledge of Spanish, but were quite unable to carry on even a brief conversation in Spanish. What knowledge they did have appeared to have been acquired through contact with Spanish speakers on the farm. The material recorded by these three informants, however, shows some incidence of Spanish loans: informant 61 had 30 out of a total of 136 words, informant 62 had 25 out of 87 and informant 64, 29 out of 83. While some of these loans were cases of integration (items from a second language which are known by bilingual and monolingual alike), there were others which must be classified as cases of interference. These are all analysed and described in Chapter IV.

In the course of the Huave-Spanish investigation, Diebold tested the degree of bilingualism of a sample of informants by presenting a hundred-word lexicostatistics list in Huave, to which the informants responded by giving Spanish equivalents when they could. On the results of this test, the group of informants previously categorized as monolinguals were reclassified as incipient bilinguals, since they scored an average of 37 per cent in the test, revealing a fairly good knowledge

1. Morínigo, among others, draws attention to the fact that women are often more conservative in the field of language acquisition (see Morínigo 1952, p. 87). This is of course not always a matter of choice, but is due to the fact that the women rarely have the same opportunities for contact with Spanish speakers.

of Spanish vocabulary.¹ I would suggest that were a similar test applied to the 14 Spanish and Quechua-speaking informants whom I have classified as incipient bilinguals, the Quechua speakers would show a comparable knowledge of Spanish vocabulary to that of the Huave informants, but the Spanish speakers would have greater difficulty in supplying the Quechua equivalents, and might possibly more accurately be classified as monolinguals. This hypothesis clearly needs further testing, however.

(f) Language loyalty

The term "language loyalty" was coined by Weinreich to describe "a principle ... in the name of which people will rally themselves and their fellow-speakers consciously and explicitly to resist changes in either the functions of their language (as a result of language shift) or in the structure or vocabulary (as a consequence of interference)".²

Some attempt was made in the questionnaire to elicit information on the attitudes of the informants with regard to language loyalty. The results were not really conclusive. The opinion most strongly expressed was that of a primary school teacher who favoured bilingual education. She said that the insistence on Spanish as the teaching medium was hampering the progress of children whose first language was Quechua: "Además, en quechua, las niñas tienen diferentes maneras de expresarse. No así en castellano" (informant 58). The idea that Quechua was a more expressive language was common among the informants. Spanish was more useful in commercial and political life, but Quechua was more "dulce" (informant 24), "más expresivo" (informant 43) or "más útil para insultar" (informant 15). Since a knowledge of Spanish is

1. Diebold 1964, p. 504.

2. Weinreich 1967, p. 99.

undoubtedly essential to social mobility and economic betterment, I had expected to find more outspoken opinions against Quechua. But this was not the case. Certain people (e.g. informants 3, 49 and 50) said that they "preferred" Spanish, and would rather speak it, even when it was clear from the tape-recordings that they were much more at ease and fluent in Quechua. The opinion of the schoolteacher cited above is typical of attitudes to Quechua among the educated people of the town. There was a great deal of support for the idea of bilingual education, and in one or two cases the informants were clearly proud of the fact that they spoke fluent Quechua (e.g. informants 9 and 71). But these were men of a certain social standing, whose ability to speak Quechua did not cast any doubt on their social status. It is clear that it is those people who are trying to make the shift from Indian to mestizo society who are most anxious not to betray a knowledge of Quechua.¹ Several times I witnessed conversations between a farmer and his labourers, when the farmer addressed them in fluent Quechua, and the men replied in Spanish, even though they clearly had difficulty in formulating sentences.

1. There are, however, situations when the ability to speak Spanish is mocked. Martínez quotes César Fonseca *et al.* (Fonseca, Arquinio Bringas, Gamarra Gallardo, Situación actual de las comunidades de Catac, Mita, Huata y Tumpa, Callejón de Huaylas, Ancash, Lima, 1967, p. 253): "... en la escuela de Mita — Ancash — casi todas las niñas hablan quechua y si alguna empieza a hablar castellano, con frecuencia es objeto de burla de parte de las demás compañeras" (Martínez 1969, p. 143). This would not, I believe, apply in an urban area such as Calca. In more rural areas there exist certain derogatory names for the Indian who attempts to speak Spanish. Two of these in use in the Department of Cuzco are misti q' bolsillonmantan urmaq 'he who has fallen from the pocket of the misti', and misti q'epinmantan urmaq 'he who has fallen from the bundle of the misti'. The term misti is used by the Indian of Spanish speakers. It is interesting that in the first example a Spanish word is actually incorporated — bolsillo. (Information supplied by Leslie Hoggarth.)

(g) The disadvantages of monolingualism

In the course of interviewing and taping in Calca in many different situations, it soon became clear to me that monolingualism (or incipient bilingualism) is a very severe handicap in many instances. As we have already seen (pages 44-48), Spanish is the medium of the political, legal and educational systems in Peru. In Calca it was very clear that the Indians from the surrounding parcialidades were obliged to act through intermediaries or interpreters when they had business with, for example, the subprefect, who spoke no Quechua, or the agricultural adviser, who had only a very rudimentary knowledge of Quechua. In legal proceedings, documents are of course always made out in Spanish, and a non-literate Indian must always seek out someone to read and translate any document for him. I witnessed this frequently in Calca.

The inadequacy of a Spanish-medium education for Quechua-speaking children has already been pointed out in the case of Calca. In an urban situation, however, the disadvantages are not as obvious as in the country, where rural schools rarely offer more than the transition year and the first three years of primary education.¹ This does not give the Quechua-speaking child sufficient time to learn Spanish adequately. After leaving school the girls invariably forget what Spanish they have learned, while the boys, because of greater opportunity for contact with Spanish speakers, usually acquire greater proficiency. The educational situation of the Quechua speaker, of which Rowe writes, still remains largely unchanged.² Current prospects for educational

1. Freeburger and Hauch 1964, p. 11.

2. See Rowe 1947, p. 215: "... no department shows a higher percentage of education than of Spanish speakers: no education is offered in Quechua or Aymará in Peru, and the 35 per cent of the population that speaks no Spanish are consequently wholly illiterate and shut out from public affairs by an insuperable language barrier." Rowe is here referring to the results of the 1940 census.

reform and the future of Quechua are discussed in Chapter V.

The monolingual Spanish speaker is also, of course, at a certain disadvantage in Quechua-speaking areas. This applies particularly to certain professions where the ability to communicate properly is almost essential. The doctor in Calca, for example, regarded his inability to speak Quechua as a severe handicap. He had previously practised in the town of Santo Tomás, in a much more remote area, and there the problems had been even more acute. In Calca, it seemed, he had more Spanish speakers among his patients. The attitude of teachers has already been discussed (see pages 46 and 53), and they are probably the largest group to be at a disadvantage as monolinguals in Spanish.

Although there are disadvantages for both groups of monolinguals (or incipient bilinguals), there is obviously a great difference between the necessity of acquiring Spanish in order to achieve any degree of social mobility and the desirability or convenience of acquiring Quechua for the sake of communication with patients or pupils. The desire of the Quechua speaker to learn Spanish and to participate in the different way of life which this implies has contributed to one of the largest problems which Peru faces at the moment — that of the steadily-increasing migration from the sierra to the coast. The immigrant population of Lima alone was estimated in 1961 to be 43.4 per cent, and although Lima draws the largest number of immigrants, it is not the only city with problems of this kind.¹

1. Martínez 1969, p. 38. The social implications of this kind of migration are described by Martínez thus: "El deseo de aprender el castellano, o de que sus hijos lo logren, también es un fuerte impulso para la migración a los pueblos vecinos, pues ... el entrar de sirvientes les brinda esa oportunidad o la de completar el proceso de aprendizaje iniciado, generalmente, en la escuela de la comunidad. Los sujetos ... que se emplean como domésticos en cualquiera de las ciudades o pueblos de mayor importancia ganan un prestigio; la gente habla de ellos con un dejo de orgullo, 'tal persona está en Lima, está aprendiendo a rozarse con la gente'" (ibid., p. 144).

CHAPTER THREE

CHAPTER III
INTERFERENCE AND INTEGRATION OF QUECHUA IN SPANISH

1. Introduction

In this chapter we shall be analysing the evidence found in the corpus of taped material for the integration and interference of Quechua phonemes, lexicon and syntactic patterns in Spanish. The corpus material consists of the transcriptions of the Spanish tapes of the 97 informants who were classified as subordinate bilinguals (1S:2Q) or (1Q:2S) (see pages 44-48 above), coordinate bilinguals (pages 48-52) or incipient bilinguals whose first language was Spanish (pages 53-55). The relationship between interference and integration and the linguistic skills of the informants concerned will be discussed in §§ 3(g), 4(g) and 5(d) of this chapter.

2. The Word Count: Spanish Transcriptions

The total number of words found in the Spanish transcriptions was 34,298. Of these, 605 were Quechua items, a percentage of approximately 1.75. These figures include all instances of repetition. Forty-nine different Quechua forms were found, excluding place and personal names.

3. Lexical /

3. Lexical Interference and Integration

(a) Introduction

The 605 Quechua forms found in the Spanish texts are divided into the following categories:

- Names of plants and animals
- Words relating to clothing and food
- Words relating to agriculture
- Unclassified words
- Place names and personal names

In each category, the words will be discussed in relation to the process of integration, or the type of interference which they represent. The instances of phonemic interference which occur in them are described in § 4.

(b) Names of plants and animals

This category is the most obvious one in which Quechua items may be found, and many scholars referring to the incidence of Quechua lexicon in Spanish consider this category to be one of those which has been most influenced.¹

The words which fall into this category have been divided into two categories: in the first (A) will be found the words occurring in the corpus which had the same phonemic form in the speech of bilinguals and monolinguals alike. The second list (B) contains words which varied in pronunciation depending on the degree of bilingualism of the speakers. These replica variants are discussed on page 74 below. The references following each word are included for purposes of comparison with usage in Colombia and Ecuador (Tascón and Toscano Mateus) and for more detailed etymologies of some of the forms (Arona and Hildebrandt). For the

1. See for example Toscano Mateus 1953, p. 31; Arona 1883, XLIX; Alencastre n.d., p. 3.

Quechua origins of these words, reference was made to the dictionaries of Lira and Middendorf. In the case of words which are not well known in either English or Spanish, an explanation is included. The lists are ordered according to the usual Spanish forms of the words.

List A

- alpaca: see Alencastre n.d.:3; Arona 1883:326; Hildebrandt 1969:157; Lira 1944:211; Middendorf 1890:II,35.
- asnapa (a bundle of several herbs used in cooking): see Lira 1944:64; Middendorf 1890:II,73.
- huacatay (a herb used in making soup): see Lira 1944:1078.
- hualлата (a bird with red and white plumage found on lakes in the punas): see Alencastre n.d.:3; Lira 1944:1091.
- huayruru (the red and black seed of the huayru used for making necklaces): see Arona 1883:271-2; Lira 1944:1133; Middendorf 1890:II,406.
- llama: see Alencastre n.d.:3; Arona 1883:325-7; Lira 1944:566; Middendorf 1890:II,523; Tascón 1934:102; Toscano Mateus 1953:29.
- ñuichu (a red flower of the salvia family always used for decoration in the procession of the Señor de los Temblores): see Lira 1944:708; Middendorf 1890:II,633.
- palta (the avocado or alligator pear): see Arona 1883:370-71; Lira 1944:730; Toscano Mateus 1953:31.
- papa: see Lira 1944:737; Middendorf 1890:II,651; Tascón 1934:118; Toscano Mateus 1953:32.
- pisonay (a tree with red flowers of the genus *Erythrina*): see Lira 1944:758.
- puma: see Alencastre n.d.:3; Lira 1944:766; Middendorf 1890:II,609; Toscano 1953:55.
- quinoa (a high-protein cereal, chenopodium quinoa): see Lira 1944:326; Middendorf 1890:II,207.

List B

- achiote (a reddish-yellow colouring used in food): see Arona 1883:9; Hildebrandt 1969:302 attributes achiote to an original Aztec form, adapted to Spanish phonology; Lira 1944:26; Middendorf 1890:II,15; Toscano 1953:30 attributes achiote to Spanish. Its inclusion in this list is therefore only tentative.
- coca (the leaf chewed by the Indians to dull hunger, from which the drug cocaine is extracted): see Alencastre n.d.:3; Arona 1883:120-22; Lira 1944:327; Middendorf 1890:II,183; Tascón 1934:49.
- condor: see Alencastre n.d.:3; Arona 1883:120-22; Lira 1944:333; Middendorf 1890:II,190; Tascón 1934:50-51; Toscano 1953:55.
- cuy (the guinea-pig, kept in all Indian homes and a common item of diet): see Arona 1883:140-41; Lira 1944:476; Middendorf 1890:II,243; Tascón 1934:53-4.
- oca (an edible tuber): see Lira 1944:713; Middendorf 1890:II,118; Tascón 1934:114.
- olluco (a tuber, similar to the oca, but larger): see Hildebrandt 1969:126; Lira 1944:1038; Middendorf 1890:II,131; Tascón 1934:146.
- payco (a plant used commonly for medicinal purposes, such as healing warts): see Lira 1944:746; Middendorf 1890:II,637; Tascón 1934:115.

rocoto (a type of chilli pepper used widely in cooking): see Lira 1944: 851; Middendorf 1890:II,732; Tascón 1934:132; Toscano Mateu 1953:32,227.
vicuña (an animal, vicugna vicugna, native to Peru): see Alencastre n.d.:3; Lira 1944:1149; Middendorf 1890:II,452; Tascón 1934:149.
vizcacha (a type of chinchilla, lagidium peruvianum): see Alencastre n.d.:3; Arona 1883:501-2; Hildebrandt 1969:139; Lira 1944:1161; Middendorf 1890:II,466.

Within the community of Calca, I believe all these words to be integrated forms, in use by bilinguals and monolinguals alike, although the words in List B may have replica variants in the speech of Spanish or bilingual speakers (1S:2Q). Probably all these words could be regarded as integrated loans in serrano Spanish, and few Spanish speakers are conscious of their Quechua origin. It is likely that several of them are not known in the coastal region (among these I would suggest asnapa, ñujchu and payco), but this would clearly have to be tested methodically.

(c) Words relating to clothing and food

The need for new designations in the field of clothes and food is also an obvious one, since the Indian population has never adopted European eating habits and it is still largely conservative in its dress. Several items of Indian diet have passed into the mestizo and even the upper-class cuisine, and their names have gone with them, and similarly with a few articles of dress. The two lists below keep the same distinction between phonemically integrated (A) and non-integrated (B) items as above.

List A

chuta (a type of bread sold in the Cuzco region): see Lira 1944:149; Middendorf 1890:II,370.
uchukuta (a sauce made of chopped rocoto, coriander and onion): see Lira 1944:1034; Middendorf 1890:II,128; Tascón 1934:82.

List B / ...

List B

chuño (black dehydrated potatoes): see Arona 1883:172-3; Hildebrandt 1969:139; Lira 1944:191; Middendorf 1890:II,398.
chullo (a knitted cap with ear-flaps): see Lira 1944:189; Middendorf 1890:II,396.
cocaví (food and drink taken on a journey or supplied to labourers): see Lira 1944:458. This word has nothing to do with coca, but derives from the Quechua qogau 'provision for a journey, work etc.'. huminta (sweet maize dough with raisins, steamed in maize husks): see Arona 1883:281; Lira 1944:262; Toscano Mateus 1953:93.
linlí (dehydrated ocas or ollucos): see Lira 1944:555.
matasca (roast meat): see Lira 1944:638; Middendorf 1890:II,578.
moraya (white dehydrated potatoes): see Lira 1944:191; Middendorf 1890:II,607.
pata chuño (roasted chuño): see Lira 1944:805; Middendorf 1890:II,682.
puspu (boiled broad beans): see Lira 1944:816; Middendorf 1890:II,691.
pipiyan (a stew, usually of cuy or chicken): see Hildebrandt 1969:296-8. Hildebrandt believes the word to be derived from the Spanish pepa, but an etymology based on the Quechua pípuvay 'to thicken, as gravy etc.' might also be suggested (see Lira 1944:755).
sancochar (to boil, thicken food): see Arona 1883:451-2; Hildebrandt 1969:384; Lira 1944:876; Middendorf 1890:II,757; Tascón 1934:135; Toscano Mateus, 1953:32,116.

Again, the phonemic changes which have taken place during the process of integration of some of these words will be discussed in §4. Sierra food is very different from that of the coast, and I believe a number of these words to be used exclusively in the highland region, and not as items of coastal vocabulary. Among these I would suggest chuta, cocaví, linlí, puspu and pipiyan. The only item of clothing mentioned, the chullo, is not worn on the coast.

As in the case of the names of plants and animals, all these items must be classed as loan words — that is, the replica in Spanish is made on the basis of the phonemic shape of the Quechua model. The one exception is the verb sancochar, which must really be classed as a loan blend (see page 15 above) since the first three syllables are a phonemically-based replica of the Quechua model sankhuchiy, but the Quechua infinitive ending -y has been replaced with the Spanish -ar.¹

1. See Lira 1944, p. 876.

(d) Words relating to agriculture

In the case of agricultural terms borrowed from Quechua into Spanish, the designative inadequacies filled by the Quechua words are mostly in the spheres of techniques required by New World crops (such as maize), or the names of indigenous agricultural implements. It is not always possible to give a specific reason for the adoption of a Quechua term, and sometimes a Spanish form competes in frequency with the Quechua-derived word, as in the case of despancar, which alternates with the Spanish deshojar.

The words below are divided, as before, into those without and those with replica variants.

List A

despancar (to strip the husks from the cobs of maize): see Arona 184 1883:183; Lira 1944:784; Middendorf 1890:II,697.
lampa (a type of hoe): see Arona 1883:305-6; Lira 1944:549; Middendorf 1890:II,511; Toscano Mateus 1953:34.
pampa (field or plain): see Arona 1883:373-4; Lira 1944:733; Middendorf 1890:II,647; Toscano Mateus 1953:111-112.
puna (high land, steppe): see Arona 1883:422; Lira 1944:767; Middendorf 1890:II,669; Tascón 1934:127-8; Toscano Mateus 1953:31.

List B

chacarería (employment in farm work): see Lira 1944:87.
chacarero (farmer, smallholder): see Lira 1944:87; Middendorf 1890:II,340; Tascón 1934:63; Toscano Mateus 1953:124,485.
chacra (farm, field): see Arona 1883:148-9; Lira 1944:86; Middendorf 1890:II,339; Tascón 1934:62-3; Toscano Mateus 1953:31,116,227.
chakitajlla (the Indian foot plough): see Lira 1944:91; Middendorf 1890:II,337.

Here too there is a mixture of straightforward loan words together with some loan blends where part of the word is a phonemic replica of the Quechua model and part is a Spanish derivative affix such as -ero or -ería. These hybrids are to be distinguished from the type described by Diebold (see page 15 above). Weinreich calls them "interlingual portmanteaus", the stem being a replica of an indigenous model,

and the derivative affix transferred.¹ The three examples above are despancar, a combination of the transferred Spanish prefix des-, the root reproduced on the basis of the Quechua model p'anga 'husk' and the transferred Spanish infinitive ending -ar; chacarería and chacarero, where the root is reproduced from the Quechua model chajra 'field, farm' and the derivative suffixes -ero and -ería are transferred from Spanish.

(e) Words in other categories

These are subdivided as before.

List A

carpa (tent, awning used in the market-place): see Arona 1883:83; Hildebrandt 1969:68-70; Lira 1944:387; Middendorf 1890:II,290.
huahua (baby, small child): see Arona 1883:254; Hildebrandt 1969:386; Lira 1944:1122; Middendorf 1890:II,417; Tascón 1934:86-7; Toscano Mateus 1953:422-3.

List B

calato (naked, bare): see Arona 1883:83; Hildebrandt 1969:68-70; Lira 1944:387; Middendorf 1890:II,290.
ñuto (small, in small pieces): see Lira 1944:711; Tascón 1934:114.
pujyal (a spring of water): see Arona 1883:422; Lira 1944:764.
quechua (adjective used by Spanish speakers of the Quechua language. The Indians refer to their language as runa simi, and the word quechua appears to have come into use with the Spaniards who called the language by the name of a tribe, the Qheswa): see Lira 1944:538.

These forms are all loan words, with the exception of pujyal, which is formed from the replica of the Quechua root pujyu 'a spring' and the transferred Spanish derivative suffix -al, by analogy with the Spanish manantial 'a spring', and the word calato, whose root is the replica of the Quechua model q'ala 'naked' in conjunction with the transferred Spanish derivational suffix -ato.

1. Weinreich 1967, p. 52.

These words vary in degree of integration between accepted usage in peninsular Spanish in the case of carpa, to the Peruvianism calato and the purely serrano usage of ñuto.

(f) Toponymy and personal names

These form the largest category of words borrowed into Spanish — a total of 96 non-Spanish names were recorded in the Spanish transcriptions. Clearly this is not the place to discuss in detail the etymologies of each one, both for the sake of brevity and because place-names are a notoriously complex subject, requiring a much fuller investigation than is possible here. The names are however listed below, for two reasons. In the first place they show an interesting contrast with the Huave study. Diebold found that in all but a very few cases there existed an integrated Spanish-derived form of a place-name and a native Huave synonym.¹ I did not come across any similar cases in Calca. There are very few local Spanish place-names. In the second place some of these names illustrate very clearly the phonemic changes which take place in the process of integration of a Quechua form into the Spanish system, which is described in § 4. Below are listed all non-Spanish names found in the Spanish transcriptions. Some appear to be derived from Aymará, and therefore the examples which are used to illustrate the process of phonemic change in § 4 have been checked against Lira's dictionary as being Quechua forms.

In bilingualism literature, place-names are generally regarded as integrated forms.² In the case of place-names, as in the case of the forms in the previous sections, this is only true to a certain extent with regard to their phonemic form. That is, they do not all have an

1. Diebold 1961, pp. 94-5.

2. See for example ibid., pp. 94-5.

invariable form in the speech of bilinguals and monolinguals. In general this can only be said of the names of the larger towns and cities, although even the name 'Cuzco', which is the capital of a department, varied between /kusko/ and /qosqo/, depending on whether the speaker was more fluent in Spanish or Quechua. It would seem logical to conclude that the smaller and more remote the village or community the more likely it is for its name to have replica variants among Spanish speakers.¹

The list of names which follows is ordered according to the initial letter of the Spanish form of the name. In the case of villages and communities whose names I have been unable to find on maps, spelling has been governed as far as possible by the usual rules for the transliteration of Quechua names, although the Spanish rendering of Quechua names is often inconsistent. List A contains the toponymy, and list B the proper names either of the informants themselves, or those mentioned in the Spanish transcriptions.

List A

Acomayo, Ajchahuata, Amaybamba, Anta, Arequipa, Ayaviri, Cajamarca, Calca, Canchacancha, Canchis, Chaypa, Checacupe, Chumbivilcas, Chuntachaca, Cocabambilla, Combapata, Cosñipata, Coya, Cuzco, Huachibamba, Huamanchoque, Huambutio, Huancarani, Huancayo, Huarachani, Huaran, Huarí, Huaylla, Huayllabamba, Huayoqari, Huke, Huyro, Juliaca, Kauri, Kimsarumiyuq, Laqo, Lares, Lima, Limatambo, Lliplleq, Macana, Machacancha, Mapocho, Marcapata, Marhuay, Mollepata, Moqo, Muyupay, Ollantaytambo, Pachaputiyuq, Pampallacta, Paracaypata, Pilcopata, Piñipini, Písaq, Pisti, Pitumarca, Pitusiray, Pivil, Pumacocha, Puno, Qanqan, Qocho, Qoncharumiyuq, Quellouno, Quillabamba, Quiquijana, Sacsahuaman, Sawasiray, Sayllapaya, Shintuya, Sicuani, Sillacancha, Sirialo, Tinta, Ttio, Urco, Urcos, Urubamba, Vilcabamba, Vilcanota, Yanatile, Yanauca, Yucay.

List B

Champi, Chylla, Guardapujlla, Huaco, Huaman, Mamachi, Mamani, Manco, Orqo Waranqa, Tito (or Ttito), Tupac Amaru, Yanqui.

1. Diebold 1961, p. 120.

One of the names in list B is a loan blend — Guardapujlla is a combination of the transferred Spanish element guarda and the Quechua pujlla, the root of the verb pujllay 'to play'. The name has no apparent significance. It is interesting to note that Diebold found no non-Spanish-derived proper names in the Huave community.¹

(g) Lexical interference and integration: summary

Items from Quechua lexicon which were found in the Spanish transcriptions fall into the five categories listed above, of which the largest group consists of place-names (even allowing for those which may be derived from Aymará or other Indian languages). In Calca all these forms were observed in the speech of bilinguals and monolingual Spanish speakers, although their phonemic form varied in certain cases, depending on the degree of bilingualism of the informant: they are cases of replica variants.²

The vast majority of loans from Quechua into Spanish are straightforward loan words — phonemically similar replicas of the Quechua models. The exceptions are those cases of combined Spanish and Quechua elements where the root of the word is the replica of a Quechua model with derivational affixes transferred from Spanish. (The lists contain examples such as chacarero, chacarería, despancar, sancochar and pujyal.) Further material, gathered in addition to the corpus of Spanish transcriptions, and observations made in the course of field-work showed that Spanish diminutive suffixes are also frequently used in combination with Quechua loans. Examples often heard were huahuitas, ñutito, rocotitos, papitas, calatito, asnapitas.³ The rarity of loan

1. Diebold 1961, p. 94.

2. Ibid., p. 120.

3. The frequency of diminutives in serrano Spanish is itself often attributed to the influence of Quechua. See for example Toscano Mateus /

shifts — that is, replicas based on the meaning of the model — is also reflected in the Huave study where loan words and loan blends outnumbered loan shifts by about 18:1.¹ In the literature, however, there are a few examples of what may be loan shifts from Quechua into Spanish, although, as so often happens, the Quechua forms on which the Spanish ones are supposedly based are not given. Benvenuto Murrieta gives examples such as burroculén 'culén silvestre' and montezanahoria (not translated), calling them "voces compuestas castellanas de construcción indígena".²

The possible extent of integration of many of these forms beyond the sierra region is doubtful, although some, such as calato, are household words even in Lima.³ The phonemic changes involved in many of these loans are described in the following section.

4. Phonemic Interference and Integration

(a) Introduction

We recall that phonemic interference involves the identification by a speaker of the sounds of a second language in terms of the sound system of his first language — interlingual identification of the phonic type (see page 13).

Since we are, in this chapter, dealing with the influence of Quechua on Spanish, we must ask the following questions in relation to the material contained in the Spanish transcriptions:-

Mateus 1953, pp. 422-3, and Alencastre n.d., p. 1. The same trait is observable in Mexico (see Gifford 1969, p. 172).

1. Diebold 1961, p. 119.

2. Benvenuto Murrieta 1936, p. 91.

3. Hildebrandt 1969, pp. 68-70.

(1) In the case of informants whose first language is Quechua, are Spanish words reproduced in terms of the Quechua phonemic system, and are the Quechua loans described in § 3 reproduced in terms of the Quechua sound system or the Spanish one?

(2) In the case of informants whose first language is Spanish, are any Quechua phonemes introduced into their Spanish, and are the Quechua loans described in § 3 reproduced in terms of the Quechua sound system or the Spanish one?

(3) What occurs in the case of informants classified as coordinate bilinguals?

In order to make these comparisons, we must make reference to the phonemes of both languages, and these are set out in the following section. Only phonemes are given, not allophones, since they are not essential for the purpose of this study except for the allophones of Quechua /k/ and /q/.

(b) The phonemes of Quechua and Spanish

The phonemes of Quechua given below are based on the findings of Yokoyama, Lastra and Rowe and on analysis of the Quechua material recorded in Calca.¹ The table most nearly resembles that of the Cuzco Quechua studied by Rowe. The table of Spanish phonemes is based on Navarro Tomás.²

A. Quechua

Vowels. In Calca Quechua there are five vowel phonemes. These are:-

i	u
e	o
a	

1. Yokoyama 1951, p. 39; Lastra 1969, pp. 12-13; Rowe 1950, pp. 139-141.

2. Navarro Tomás 1950, pp. 35-145.

Of these, /e/ and /o/ would occur only in complementary distribution with /i/ and /u/ respectively, were it not for their occurrence in Spanish loan words or their use in the Quechua of bilinguals whose first language is Spanish.¹ In Quechua which is uninfluenced by Spanish /e/ and /o/ only occur before and after the plain, glottal and aspirated post-velar stops /q/, /q'/ and /qh/ and before the velar or post-velar fricatives [x] and [ɣ].

Consonants²

	<u>labial</u>	<u>alveolar</u>	<u>palatal</u>	<u>velar</u>	<u>postvelar</u>
plain stops	p	t	ç	k	q
aspirated stops ...	ph	th	çh	kh	qh
glottalised stops .	p'	t'	ç'	k'	q'
nasals	m	n	ñ		
spirants		s	ʃ		
laterals		l	l̃		
flap		r			
initial aspirate ..			h		
semivowels	w		y		

It should be noted that the phoneme /k/ has two allophones: [k] in syllable initial position, a voiceless velar stop, and [x] in syllable final position, a voiceless velar to postvelar fricative. The phoneme /q/ has the allophones [q] in syllable initial position, a voiceless postvelar stop, and the allophone [ɣ] in syllable final position, a voiceless postvelar fricative.³

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1. These findings are borne out by Yokoyama (1951, p. 39) and Parker (1969, pp. 17, 21-22) with reference to Cuzco and Ayacucho Quechua, and by Lastra (1968, pp. 12, 14-15) with reference to the Quechua of Cochabamba.
 2. For typographical reasons certain symbols in this table have been simplified: in the digraphs /ph/, /th/ etc., h indicates aspiration, not the phoneme /h/; a tilde over /n/ and /l/ replaces the more common /ɲ/ and /ɭ/ to indicate ñ and ll.
 3. See Rowe 1950, p. 140. The problem of Quechua orthography is still much debated. In this dissertation the phoneme /k/ is written as [k] in /.....

B. Spanish

Vowels. The Spanish of the Calca area has the normal five-vowel system:-

i u
e o
a

Consonants

	<u>labial</u>	<u>dental</u>	<u>alveolar</u>	<u>palatal</u>	<u>velar</u>
plain stops	p b	d	t	ç	k g
nasals	m		n	ñ	
spirants			s		
laterals			l	ļ	
fricatives	f v				x
flaps			r		
trill			ṛ		
semivowels	w			y	

In the table of Quechua phonemes on page 71, those phonemes which do not occur in the Spanish inventory have been boxed in. If any of these phonemes occur in the corpus of Spanish material recorded, we may say that phonemic interference is present. This problem is considered below under headings suggested by the questions asked on page 70.

(c) Phonemic interference in the speech of informants whose first language is Spanish

In the Spanish material recorded by incipient bilinguals in this category, interference from Quechua was non-existent. There were no

in syllable-initial position and as [x] in syllable-final position. Non-phonetically it is written as syllable-initial k and as syllable-final j (as in kay and chajra). The phoneme /q/ is written as [q] in syllable-initial position and as [q̣] in syllable-final position. Non-phonetically it is written as q in syllable-initial and syllable-final positions (as in qoy and ñauq̣a). The symbol [x] is reserved for the Spanish velar fricative, written non-phonetically as j or g (as in jota, tejado, genio etc.). The Quechua syllable-final [x] is usually articulated by a Quechua speaker further back than the Spanish [x] but not as far back as the Quechua postvelar [q̣]. The symbol [j] /

instances of Quechua phonemes occurring in the Spanish, and loan words from Quechua had been fully adapted to the Spanish system, except for some place-names — for instance the name Qanqan seemed to be pronounced even by Spanish speakers in Calca with the Quechua postvelar /q/ and not the Spanish velar /k/.¹ In the vast majority of cases, Quechua words occurring in the Spanish of Spanish speakers (incipient bilinguals and (1S:2Q) subordinate bilinguals) were reproduced in terms of Spanish phonemes. This took place by a process of simplification: the Quechua glottalised and aspirated stops (/k'/, /kh/, /q'/, /qh/, etc.) were replaced by the Spanish plain stop /k/, as was the plain postvelar /q/. Thus Quechua [oqa] had the replica variant [oka] among Spanish speakers and Quechua [matasqa] had similarly a replica variant [mataska]. The replica variants of all the words in the (B) sections are listed below in the order in which they occur in the (B) sections; the left-hand column lists the non-phonetic Quechua form, the middle column the phonetic Quechua form, and the right-hand column the phonetic form of the most common replicas among the Spanish speakers in Calca:-

achiwiti	[ačiwiti]	[ačyóte]
kuka	[kúka]	[kóka]
kuntur	[kúntur]	[kóndor]
qowe	[qówe]	[kúi]
oqa	[óqa]	[óka]
ulluku	[ulúku]	[olúko]
payqo	[páiqo]	[páiko]
roqoto	[roqóto]	[rokóto]
wikuña	[wikúña]	[vikúña]
wisk'acha	[wisk'áča]	[viskáča]
ch'uñu	[č'úñu]	[čúño]
chullu	[č'úlu]	[čúlo]
qoqawi	[qoqáwi]	[kokaví]
humint'a	[humínt'a]	[umínta]
phata ch'uñu	[pháta č'úñu]	[páta čúño]
phuspu	[phúspu]	[púspu]
sankhuchiy	[sankhúči]	[sankočár]

[j] is only used in the phonetic transcriptions for the Spanish /i/ in words such as [fjesta].

1. See Lira 1944, p. 431, for Qanqan as a Quechua name.

chajra	[čáxra]	[čákra]
q'ala	[q'ála]	[kalá(to)]
nut'u	[núť'u]	[ñútó]
qheswa	[qhéswa]	[kéêwa]

Besides the simplification of the postvelar and velar stops into the single Spanish velar /k/, this list also reveals the following tendencies (the sign > indicates "is interpreted as"):-

- Quechua /u/ > Spanish /o/ (e.g. kuka > coca).
- Quechua /t/ > Spanish /d/ (e.g. kuntur > condor).
- Quechua /w/ > Spanish /v/ (e.g. wisk'acha > vizcacha).
- Quechua /ph/ > Spanish /p/ (e.g. phata > pata).
- Quechua [x̣] > Spanish [x] (e.g. chajra > chacra).
- Quechua /t'/ > Spanish /t/ (e.g. ñut'u > ñuto).

There is a definite pattern in the replacement of Quechua /u/ by Spanish /o/. We recall that in Quechua /o/ and /u/ and /i/ and /e/ are in complementary distribution, /o/ and /e/ occurring only before and after the plain, glottal and aspirated postvelar stops /q/, /q'/ and /qh/ and before the velar and postvelar fricatives [x̣] and [q̣]. Spanish has no such limitations, and as can be seen in the examples above, /o/ may occur after a velar stop in replicas such as [kóka] and [kóndor] or before /ĩ/ as in [oĩúko]. In other words, in the replicas of Quechua words used among Spanish speakers, the distribution of the vowel phonemes /o/ and /e/ is not restricted to the normal Quechua contexts.

We may summarise by stating that Quechua words occurring in the Spanish of speakers of this category are all, by a process of simplification or of extension of phoneme distribution, assimilated in the Spanish phonemic system.

A similar lack of phonemic interference was found in the Huave situation: Huave interference did not exist in the Spanish of those who had learned Spanish as a first language. But the same was not true of the speech of those Huave speakers who had learned Spanish as a

second language. Here there was interference from Huave, and a similar pattern emerged in the case of the Calca informants whose first language was Quechua.¹

(d) Phonemic interference in the speech of informants
whose first language is Quechua

The most common case of interference is the substitution of the Quechua postvelar to velar fricative [ɣ] in place of the Spanish velar stop [k], in words such as doctor, producto and desinfectar, which become [doxtór], [prodúxto] and [desinfextár]. In one case Spanish /b/ was reinterpreted as the Quechua aspirated stop /ph/ in the word abstinencia, which occurred as [aphstinéɲsja], and another informant replaced the Spanish phoneme /f/ with the Quechua aspirated stop /ph/ — familia was pronounced [phamílja].

There was a noticeable tendency to replace Spanish /u/ with /o/ next to a velar or postvelar /k/ or /g/, as in cultivo which became [qoltívo], segundo which became [segóndu], and mujeres, pronounced [moxéres]. As in the case of changes in Quechua forms in the speech of Spanish speakers, it seems that there is a certain pattern in these vowel changes (we recall that /o/ and /e/ occur in Quechua before and after velars and postvelars), and that where the Quechua speaker encounters a /u/ before or after a velar, he frequently changes the velar to a postvelar and the /u/ to an /o/ in accordance with the Quechua pattern. The same happens to some extent with the replacement of /e/ with /i/ in a context where the Quechua speaker subconsciously expects an /i/ — that is, where there is no velar sound in the context. In the Spanish corpus the following examples occurred: vendiendo had the

1. See Diebold 1964, p. 503.

form /vindjéndo/, leche — /lîçi/, muebles — /mwíbles/.

On the other hand, examples also occurred in the corpus of Spanish material which do not fit this pattern, and the examples cited in the literature are not conclusive either.¹ However, it is possible that if a systematic investigation were carried out, bearing in mind the complementary distribution of /e/ and /i/ and /o/ and /u/ in Quechua, some more satisfactory results might emerge, and the vowel changes in serrano Spanish might not merely be written off as sporadic.

In the Quechua words occurring in the Spanish of those whose first language was Quechua, several phonemes were introduced which are not present in the Spanish inventory. They included /q/, /ç'/, /t'/, /ph/, /kh/, /q'/ and /qh/, occurring in the words listed on pages 73-74. Several of these phonemes also occurred in the Quechua-derived place-names in the speech of informants whose first language was Quechua. They would pronounce the names Coya and Lago as [qoya] and [laqo] respectively, with the Quechua postvelar /q/ in place of the Spanish speakers' /k/ in /koya/ and /lako/.²

(e) Phonemic interference in the speech
of coordinate bilinguals

The speech of informants classed as coordinate bilinguals did not reveal instances of phonemic interference from Quechua, although in the pronunciation of place-names they tended to keep to the Quechua rather than the Spanish form.

1. For a comprehensive account of the literature concerned with this kind of vowel change, see Gifford 1969, pp. 162-5.

2. For the Quechua origins of these names, see Lira 1944, pp. 477 and 548.

(f) Stress changes

The primary accent in the Quechua of Calca falls regularly on the penultimate syllable, with very rare exceptions. These exceptions are interjections, words ending in the suffixes -chá (expressing uncertainty), -má (rather), -rí (but) and -yá (therefore), and the word arí (yes).¹ Spanish stress is not invariable in this way. In the Spanish speech of informants whose first language was Quechua, the invariable rule of Quechua stress was sometimes applied to a Spanish word in which the stress did not fall on the penultimate. This occurred in words such as sémbrio (for sembrió), Yúcay (for Yucáy), intégras (for íntegras) and andabámos (for andábamos).² In the case of two loan words from Quechua, these had the stress shifted in the speech of those informants with Spanish as a first language, to where the stress would fall according to Spanish usage. The two examples were linlí (Quechua stress is línli) and cocaví (Quechua stress normally qoqáwi).

(g) Phonemic interference and integration: summary

In the speech of informants whose first language is Spanish, or who are coordinate bilinguals, phonemic interference is non-existent or occurs rarely within Quechua loan words only. In general Quechua loans in their speech are integrated into the Spanish phonemic system, by a process of simplification or extension of phoneme distribution — for example the Quechua phonemes /q/, /q'/ and /qh/ are all substituted for by the Spanish /k/. No instances of stress changes were recorded in their speech. But in the speech of informants whose first language

1. Rowe 1950, p. 138.

2. See other examples in Gifford 1969, pp. 176-7. Cf. also the Huave case in Diebold 1961, p. 137.

was Quechua, a certain number of Quechua phonemes were introduced into their Spanish speech, both within the context of Quechua loans, and in their pronunciation of Spanish lexicon. Some examples of stress changes in Spanish words were also recorded. In general the situation in Calca parallels the findings in the Huave-Spanish case where phonemic interference from Huave only occurred in the speech of those who had learned Spanish as a second language.

5. Grammatical Interference and Integration

(a) Introduction

In this section we consider the introduction of syntactic patterns from Quechua into Spanish speech, and the possibility of the transfer of bound morphemes.

(b) The transfer of bound morphemes

This kind of transfer is very rare (see above, page 14). Two examples only were found in the corpus. These were the conjunctive -yoq and the diminutive -cha.¹ In the corpus these were found in the forms carguyoy 'the person in charge of the organisation and expense of a fiesta', and varayoy 'the mayor or alguacil of an Indian community'.²

The morpheme -cha (diminutive or familiar) is found in one example

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1. Benvenuto Murrieta also found forms in which the bound Quechua morphemes -kuy (forming the infinitive of the verb), -na (a nominalizer) and the Aymará form -iri (the counterpart of the Quechua -yoq) were transferred. He gives examples such as señalakuy, servinakuy, palana, casaraisiri, meaning respectively 'the counting of cattle', 'trial marriage', 'spade or hoe' and 'marriage music'. He gives no indication though about what kind of speakers used these words — whether bilinguals or even monolingual Spanish speakers. See Benvenuto Murrieta 1936, pp. 90-91.
 2. Lira insists that vara is not a Spanish word, and that the original form was warayoy, but this is highly debatable. See Lira 1944, p. 1109.

in the Spanish corpus, in the name Juan de Pavocha, but it is found most frequently in use by Spanish and Quechua speakers alike in the forms niñucha or chicucha, used affectionately of children.

In several of the derivatives from Quechua listed in §2 there are Quechua morphemes which appear at first glance to be bound forms: the replica panca of the Quechua model p'anga is one example. But p'anga is not only the root of the verb p'angay 'to grow a husk', a bound form, but also the nominal free form p'anga 'maize husk'. Similarly with the Quechua derivative sancochar, the replica sanco of the Quechua model sankhu is both a bound verb form and a nominal free form.

Resistance to borrowing is certainly governed by the degree of boundness of any morpheme.¹ The morphemes found transferred from Quechua into Spanish are derivational (-yog, -cha etc.). There was no evidence for the transfer of the more integrated inflectional suffixes, and the situation would appear to confirm findings already in the literature.

(c) The transfer of syntactic patterns

The proof for the transfer of whole syntactic patterns from one language into another is a notoriously difficult one.² While we take Diebold's warning to heart, there are certain instances of Quechua

1. Diebold 1961, pp. 126-7.

2. Ibid., p. 128: "There is a sizeable problem involved in the identification of syntactic interference unless the investigator has at his disposal a description of the syntactic structure of the recipient language prior to contact with the donor. Since there is not importation of form, and hence no diaphonic identifications to implicate the model, we have to rely on similarities of distribution. Without evidence of changes in the system, however, there is too much chance that the similarities that we discover result not from assimilative change, but to typological characteristics if not to gross universal typological features."

patterns appearing in serrano Spanish which are well documented in the literature, and too noteworthy to be ignored here.

The most widespread of these is the use of the gerundive in places where it would not normally be found in Spanish. This kind of construction is described in most of the literature dealing with substratum influence, because identification of the replicas in Spanish is straightforward and the Quechua model is not a complicated construction.¹

The most notable construction of this kind is that used in narratives, when the verb niy 'to speak' is reinforced in the Quechua by repetition — once in the narrative tense and once in the present continuous, so that the formula frequently found in narratives is nispa nisqa 'saying he said'. Variations on this kind of construction were found fairly frequently in the Spanish texts, and examples follow:-

"... dice que en la librería de Lima, en ahí vive. Ha preguntado como estuve diciendo."

"Entonces esos rateros deseaban de que el dueño de ese pavo, que nos ha hecho escapar, vamos a encontrar siempre y vamos a hacer preso diciendo."

"Entonces la señorita ... le dijo a mi mamá si yo podría estar en su casa sería bien diciendo."

"Entonces el brujo le dice: ponle a su cuello un collar, diciendo."

"... y dijo el burrito: ahora pásenme, pásenme a todo mi cuerpo con la quinoa diciendo."

"... voy a gozar sin hacer algún fastidio, diciendo había dicho."

"... otra vuelta vamos a comenzar desde lunes ya en la hacienda todas las acequias limpiando."

It is difficult to estimate the degree of integration of these constructions in serrano Spanish, but judging by the linguistic skills of the informants, and on further observation, I believe that this

1. See for example Benvenuto Murrieta 1936, pp. 155-6, and Toscano Mateus 1953, pp. 271-6.

kind of interference is found only in the Spanish of those whose first language is Quechua, and in a few cases in the speech of apparently coordinate bilinguals. The amount and the form of the construction vary enormously, and it could not be classed as integrated in general.

The lack of articles, and of coordination of gender and number, are other characteristics of serrano Spanish which have frequently been attributed to the influence of Quechua, which has no articles and no genders (except where this is specified as in the case of male and female animals), and in which number is freely expressed — if the subject of a sentence is indicated as plural, the verb may be found in the singular and vice-versa.¹

Examples of this kind were also found in the Spanish texts. In the examples which follow, the omitted pronoun, article or preposition is put in brackets:-

"... creo que (el) veinte de agosto vamos a comenzar nuestro sembrío ... tenemos que preparar para (el) aporque, para (el) primer aporque."

"... ya hemos venido (de) Mollepata."

"... Señor Andrés (se) ha enojado un poco."

"Compramos madera (de) caoba."

The lack of coordination in gender and number is illustrated in the following examples from the Spanish transcriptions, in which the uncoordinated endings are in capitals:-

"Entonces nos vamos AL procesión ... 'tonces EL bendición recibimos de noche ya. De noche ya DEL bendición venimos."

"... para que recogan ... LOS malas hierbas."

"... para que tengamos NUESTROS cosecha bien."

"... después yo en ESTE hacienda he aprendido."

"... vamos a LOS comunidades."

1. Cf. Benvenuto Murrieta 1946, p. 135. He quotes examples such as el mujer, la toro, el fuente. Also Toscano Mateus 1953, pp. 166-7: examples from Icaza's Huairapumushcas are quoted, such as fiero ansias and las puircu ('los puercos').

Clearly it is impossible to prove conclusively that the lack of gender and number coordination and of articles and prepositions in Quechua is the model for the frequent omissions of them in serrano Spanish, but certainly in this Spanish corpus it was those informants who had Quechua as a first language whose speech showed most interference of this kind. It cannot be classed as integrated, since the amount and variety varied from speaker to speaker.

The third main type of syntactic interference found in the Spanish corpus was the redundant use of the reflexive. The Quechua infix -ku- forms not only the reflexive form of any verb, but also implies the general idea of involvement on the part of the subject of the verb in its action. The Spanish se does not have this secondary meaning, but it is frequently taken by Quechua speakers into Spanish and given an extension of meaning, so that it is redundant in the Spanish context but would not be so in the Quechua rendition of the Spanish sentence.¹ Examples found in the Spanish corpus of the redundant use of the reflexive were of the following type (redundant reflexive in capitals):-

"Yo me levanto a trabajarME a las siete."

"Después viviendo acá, mi taller ME abrió."

"... en esos talleres allá yo ME he aprendido."

"... lo matan a esos tres chicos, entonces lo entierran todo todo, y en esa casa SE vive."

"Eso SE había escuchado el burro y escuchandoSE el burro dijo ..."

It also seems that the complete regularity in the formation of Quechua verbs causes Quechua speakers trouble in the conjugation of Spanish verbs, with their irregularities.² The result may be seen in forms

1. Cf. Toscano Mateus 1953, pp. 291-3; Benvenuto Murrieta 1936, p. 147.

2. "... las formas de la conjugación se producen en todos los verbos según las mismas reglas. No hay verbos irregulares ni formas de excepción" (Middendorf 1970, p. 87).

like the following, which were found in the Spanish corpus: teniabámos, venderon, resuelta and resolte (both purporting to be the present subjunctive of resultar, and occurring in the speech of the same informant), se me ha escapaba and hemos ido. Again it is impossible to identify actual Quechua models for the Spanish replicas, and it can only be suggested that the formality of Quechua grammar and syntax create problems for the Quechua speaker attempting to express himself in Spanish.

(d) Grammatical interference and integration: summary

The transfer of highly bound morphemes from Quechua, such as inflectional endings, is non-existent in Calca, and that of derivational endings is minimal — only two cases were found. There were several instances of the apparent reproduction in the Spanish of informants whose first language was Quechua of certain Quechua syntactic patterns, such as the frequent use of the gerundive in narrative, the redundant use of the reflexive, and the general absence of articles and prepositions. These must all be regarded as cases of interference in the speech of individuals. None of these patterns is integrated in serrano speech as a whole.

6. Conclusions

The very small proportion of Quechua forms found in the Spanish transcriptions (only about 1.75 per cent) tells its own tale. Moreover there was a clear division between the generally integrated lexical loans found in the speech of informants whose first language was Spanish, and the phonemic and morpho-syntactic interference found only in the

transcriptions of those with Quechua as a first language. Among Spanish speakers, Quechua influence is static, limited only to a number of loan words of whose Quechua origins they will often be unaware. Designative inadequacies supplied by Quechua words do not now occur, and new cultural phenomena will be given Spanish (or English) names. The only extensive influence of Quechua is to be observed in the speech of those who learn Spanish as a second language. The importance of these bilinguals must not be under-rated, since it is their version of Spanish which the incipient bilingual Quechua speaker is likely to acquire, for they are the individuals who still maintain close contacts with the Indian community, while at the same time cultivating a relationship with the town.

C H A P T E R F O U R

CHAPTER IV
INTERFERENCE AND INTEGRATION OF SPANISH IN QUECHUA

1. Introduction

This chapter will be similar in outline to that of Chapter III, but the material for analysis and discussion will consist of the transcriptions of the Quechua speech of the 86 informants who were subordinate bilinguals (1S:2Q) or (1Q:2S), or coordinate bilinguals, or incipient bilinguals with only a passive knowledge of Spanish. In this material we shall be looking for evidence of lexical, phonemic and grammatical interference or integration of Spanish forms in Quechua.

Since interference from Spanish in Quechua is so much more extensive than that of Quechua in Spanish (this is here presupposed, and will be discussed in the course of this chapter), it was decided to set out the material illustrating it in the form of a corpus of examples extracted from the Quechua transcriptions. These examples will be found in the section beginning on page 119 below.

For the sake of brevity the examples were limited to cases of Spanish lexicon found in conjunction with Quechua suffixes, and called in this dissertation modified forms. I believe this list to be representative of the Spanish lexicon found in the corpus as a whole, since modified forms were also invariably found in unmodified form, i.e. not in conjunction with any Quechua suffix. Many of the examples in the corpus also represent cases of phonemic and grammatical interference, since they are not listed as isolated words but placed in the context of the sentence or phrase in which they occurred in the

transcriptions.

Phonemic interference will be discussed in § 4 of this chapter and grammatical interference in § 5.

2. The Word Count

The total number of words found in the Quechua scripts was 14,707 of which 3,606 were Spanish forms (modified and unmodified), representing a percentage of approximately 24.5. A much larger number of the Spanish forms was found in modified form (in conjunction with Quechua suffixes) than in unmodified form. The exact numbers were: modified forms 2,203, unmodified forms 1,403. All these figures include cases of repetition in the transcriptions (different Spanish forms are discussed in § 3(a) below). When these figures are compared with those of the word count of the Spanish scripts (page 59) two things are immediately apparent: the total number of words in the Quechua transcriptions is much lower than in the Spanish (14,707 as opposed to 34,298), and, secondly, the percentage of Spanish forms in Quechua is much higher than that of Quechua forms in Spanish — they are approximately 24.5 per cent and 1.75 per cent respectively.¹

3. Lexical Interference and Integration

Although this chapter is parallel to Chapter III in outline, it will not deal with the material from the transcriptions in exactly the same way. The Spanish forms found in the Quechua have been divided into the following categories:-

1. One reason for this imbalance is the highly-inflected nature of Quechua. A morpheme count would possibly have shown less of a disparity.

Words relating to the church and religion
Words related to politics and the law
Words related to education
Words related to time/distance/the seasons
Words related to trades and professions
Words related to agriculture
Words related to food and drink
Words related to diseases and medicine
Words used in the telling of folk tales
Words related to leisure and entertainment
Words related to the household/clothing
Words related to village life
Toponymy and personal names

The classification of Spanish lexicon into these categories was not made arbitrarily, but with reference to the context in which the words occurred in the transcriptions. The total number of different Spanish forms was 715 in comparison with the 49 different Quechua forms (these figures do not include place-names, since they distort the picture). In addition there were several Spanish compound forms which are described in § 3(o). The classification into the two categories of words with and without replica variants (as on pages 60-61) is not made, since all the Spanish lexical forms are written phonetically in the corpus of examples, as they occurred in the speech of individuals.

(b) Words related to the church and religion

Bernabé Cobo was probably the first to remark on the large number of lexical forms in this category which were introduced from Spanish and adopted at an early stage into Quechua (see above, pages 29-30). In Ecuadorian Quechua the vocabulary of Catholicism is almost wholly Spanish, except for certain universal concepts such as "devil" and "heaven".¹ The same is true of Peru, as may be seen in the large number of religious terms found in the corpus. I believe that certain of these forms compete in frequency with native forms, or possibly with

1. Toscano Mateus 1953, p. 29.

loan shifts, i.e. the translation of a Spanish form by native Quechua elements. But this requires testing, and I did not come across any cases in Calca. An interesting study might be undertaken in the rural areas, and within the context of Protestant work among Quechua speakers, where there has been no tradition of a liturgy exclusively in Spanish or Latin.¹

Sixty different forms were found in this category, among them alma (see almacha, p. 136);² anda (a ceremonial litter on which the effigies of the saint are carried in procession: see andaman, p. 169); arco (a festive arch, decorated with flowers: see arcokunata, p. 152); bendición (see bendicionata, p. 245); Calvario (in the corpus this refers to the large wooden cross standing on a hill above Calca, which is repainted and decked at a special ceremony every year: see Calvarioman, p. 170); cargo (this refers to the responsibility of the person in charge of a religious festival: see cargota, p. 245 and carguvoc, p. 280); descanso (refers to the altar built by the Indian comuneros in the square for the Feast of the Assumption: see descansopi, p. 214); despacho (a collection of magical objects, such as herbs, dried foetuses, small tin images, etc., which are ritually burned as a sacrifice to obtain some favour such as healing: see despachopiga, p. 214); estación (this refers to the stations of the Cross on the path up to the Calvario: see estacionman, p. 171); milagro (see milagrota, p. 255); misa (see misapi, p. 217); novena (see novenakuna, p. 161); procesión (see procesioman, p. 175); velar (this refers to a wake when a person dies, or to the custom of keeping watch over the Cross during the Fiesta de la Cruz,

1. The mass is now said in Quechua in many parishes in the sierra, but this is a fairly recent development.

2. The examples cited in these categories are often also to be found in conjunction with other Quechua suffixes in the corpus of Quechua material.

called by Indians and Spanish speakers alike Cruz velakuy 'the watching of the Cross': see velakun, p. 149); vispera (the eve of any religious festival: see visperapiqa, p. 320).

(c) Words related to politics and the law

This category had the second largest number of words borrowed from Spanish — one hundred and nine different forms. The reasons for this are clear: since the time of the Conquest, Spanish has been the official language in these spheres, and Quechua has, where necessary, simply borrowed the Spanish terminology. In Calca I found no cases of Quechua terms competing in frequency with the Spanish loans, but again this may not be true in a more rural setting.

The terms found in this category included abigeo (see abigeomanta, p. 176); abogado (see abogadokunaman, p. 150); antecedentes (this refers to legal antecedents: see antecedenteskunagachu, p. 145); cárcel (see carcelman, p. 170, and carcelmanta, p. 177); civil (see civilta, p. 247); comunista (see comunistakuna, p. 155); declaración (referring to the giving of evidence: see declaracionninta, p. 195); elegir (see elegin, p. 188); impuesto (see impuestokunawan, p. 159, and impuestota, p. 252); juez (see juezta, p. 252, and juezpa, p. 206); judicial (see judicialpa, p. 206); juicio (see juiciokuna, p. 159); juramento (see juramentonta, p. 185); juzgado (see juzgadoman, p. 173); motivo (see motivowan, p. 266); policia (see policiaman, p. 174); preso (see presokuna, p. 163); testamento (see testamentota, p. 260); testigo (see testigokunata, p. 165, and testigokunataqa, p. 165); timbre (this refers to the official stamps used on legal documents: see timbrekunata, p. 165); tribunal (see tribunalman, p. 175).

(d) Words related to education

In this category, again, it is obvious why such a large number of Spanish forms are found. Spanish has been the teaching medium in the schools since the early eighteenth century, and all the terms connected with the system have been taken into Quechua from Spanish. The only case of a Quechua term being in competition with a Spanish one is that of yachay wasi 'school, house of learning'. I only heard it used once, in the context of a speech by the mayor at the founding of a rural school, and it is possible that he was purposely avoiding the use of Spanish lexicon. It is also difficult to know if this is a loan shift, made perhaps on the model of the Quechua ajlla wasi 'the house of the chosen' (supposedly the establishment where girls were trained to serve in the temples and in the Inca's palace), or an old-established Quechua term, given an extension of meaning to apply also to the schools under the Spanish system. Sixty-nine different forms in this category were found in the corpus, among them alumno (see alumnokuna, p. 151); analfabeto (see analfabetokunata, p. 152); beca (see becayocota, p. 280); clase (see clasekunapas, p. 155); colegio (see colegioypi, p. 213 and colegiomanchu, p. 170); cuaderno (see cuadernopi, p. 213); directora (see directoraqa, p. 229); educar (see educawayta, p. 264); escolar (see escolarman, p. 171); escribir (see escribinkupas, p. 200); examen (see examenta, p. 250); explicar (see explicanku, p. 200); libros (see libroskunata, p. 150); maestro (see maestroman, p. 170, and maestrokunata, p. 159); plantel (see plantelpiqa, p. 219); supervisión (see supervisionpi, p. 220); traducir (see traduciran, p. 233).

(e) Words related to time/distance/the seasons

In rural areas there are still a certain number of expressions of time which are still in use among Quechua speakers, and several informants

in Calca whose first language was Quechua said that they counted in Quechua.¹ But in Calca itself, with the exception of p'unchay 'day' and wata 'year', I never heard a Quechua expression of time used, although in the market several of the women would count out change etc. to Quechua-speaking customers in their own language. Thirty-one of these forms occur in the corpus, among them abril (see aprilpi, p. 210); agosto (see agostokama, p. 141, and agostopi, p. 210); diez (see diezña, p. 205); kilómetro (see kilometroman, p. 175); mañana (see mañanata, p. 254); mil (see milta, p. 255); noche (see nocheta, p. 255, and nochetataqmi, p. 255); octubre (see octubrepi, p. 210); segunda (see segundata, p. 259); siempre (see siemprepuni, p. 223); tarde (see tardekama, p. 141, and tardepi, p. 220); tiempo (see tiempopi, p. 220); veces (see vecesqa, p. 230); vez (see vezpica, p. 220).

(f) Words related to trades and professions

There were fifty-five different forms in the corpus which came under this category. In some cases, their use in supplying designative inadequacies is clear—for example, the word máquina. Other words are in competition with native forms. Cobo tells us that the Indians had no word for 'to sell' in the sense of exchanging goods for money, since they had only the barter system, and that the word vender was adopted into Quechua early on (see page 29 above). But there is also the Quechua verb rantiy 'to barter' which has been given an extension of meaning and also covers 'to sell'. Among the words found

1. In some areas Quechua terms are still in use. These include wallpa waguay 'before cockcrow'; inti lloqsimuy and inti haykuy 'sunrise' and 'sunset'; raspi raspi 'dusk'; and chaupi tuta 'midnight'. The names of months are now generally Spanish, but terms such as chiri tiempo 'the cold time' and tupha tiempo 'the hot time' are in use (Leslie Hoggarth, personal communication).

in the corpus were albañil (see albañilmanta, p. 170); almacén (see almacenninpi, p. 194); artesano (see artesanokuna, p. 152); camal (this is the Peruvian word for 'abattoir': see camalman, p. 170); cobrar (another word which is listed by Cobo: see cobraykuchu, p. 278); ganar (see gananku, p. 201); máquina (see maquinakunawan, p. 180); mercado (see mercadota, p. 254); producto (see productokunamanta, p. 163, and productonkunata, p. 186); tienda (see tiendallatapas, p. 168); valer (see valen, p. 189); vender (see vendinku, p. 202).

(g) Words related to agriculture

In this category there are several words which have equivalents in Quechua: the Spanish sembrar and the Quechua tarpuy are synonymous, and I believe sembrar is only used by subordinate bilinguals (1S:2Q); other synonyms are the Spanish pastor, pastora and the Quechua michiq, and the Spanish aporcar and Quechua hallmay. Among the words which do not have Quechua synonyms are some technical terms, names of agricultural machinery and organisations and crops not grown by the Indians or introduced by the Spaniards. Among the eighty-eight terms in this category are to be found abono (see abonota, p. 242); agricultura (see agriculturaman, p. 169); agropecuario (see agropecuariomanta, p. 176); almácigo (see almacigota, p. 243); arroz (see arrozpi, p. 211); barbecho (see barbechota, p. 244); desgrane (this refers to the process of stripping the grain from the cobs of maize: see desgraneta, p. 248); fertilizante (see fertilizantewan, p. 266); hacendado (see hacendado-kunata, p. 158); hacienda (see haciendaman, p. 172, haciendemanta, p. 177, and haciendapitay, p. 216); jornal (see jornaltachu, p. 252); plantar (see plantakun, p. 147); segadera (see segaderata, p. 259); surco (see surcokunata, p. 165); troje (this is a type of store where grain is dried: see trojeman, p. 175); yugo (the wooden yoke used to

plough with oxen: see yugopitaqmi, p. 221).

(h) Words related to food and drink

Twenty-one different forms were found in this category, applying mainly to names of meals and foods which are European in origin. Again, there are certain Quechua equivalents: the general word for food, or a meal, is mikhuna; ujyana means 'drink'. The Quechua word aqha 'maize beer' is called chicha by Spanish speakers,¹ and the Spanish cerveza is used only of the European-type beer made from barley. There does not seem to be a meaning-extension of aqha. among the words found in this category are almorzar (see almorzayku and almuerzayku, p. 278); azucar (see azucamanta, p.176); cerveza (see cervezata, p. 247); desayuna (see desayunota, p. 248); merienda (see meriendata, p. 255); ponche (a drink made of hot milk with pisco or brandy and sugar: see ponche-manta, p.179); relleno (see rellenota, p. 259); trago (see tragota, p. 260, and tragowan, p. 267); vermut (see vermut(t)a, p. 261).

(i) Words related to diseases and medicine

Only five different forms were found in this category. The Quechua speaker will usually talk of the doctor, not the médico. The Quechua word for a healer, hanpiq, does not seem to be used except of an Indian medicine-man. Diseases are referred to by Quechua speakers by compounds such as ñawi onqoy 'eye sickness' or ñawi nanay 'pain in the eye', tullu nanay 'pain in the bones', etc. There are also Quechua equivalents for all the parts of the body. The five forms found in the corpus were médica (see medicaman, p.173); médico (see medicomán, p.173); remedio (see remediota, p. 259); reumatismo (see reumatismomanta, p. 179); riñon (see riñonpaq, p. 208).

1. See Hildebrandt 1969, pp. 131-2, for the etymology of chicha.

(j) Words used in the telling of folk tales

This is one category where very few loans from Spanish would be expected, but forty-four different forms were found. I believe this is because the stories in which most of these words occurred are not of Quechua origin. The two stories in the corpus which seemed authentically Quechua (told by informants 9 and 35) were almost free of Spanish forms. One was a version of the local legend of how water was brought to the Urco farm (under cultivation since Inca times), and the other a tale of how three Incas were turned to stone at midnight, through disobedience. The rest were rambling accounts told by the boys in a primary school, about witches and small boys, and robbers stealing turkeys, or the very common tale of the fox and the tar baby. It was in these stories that most of the Spanish forms occurred. Among them were almanaque (see almanaqueta, p. 243); apurar (see apurasqa, p. 239); bala (see balawan, p. 265); bastón (see bastonnintin, p. 194); clavo (see clavokunawan, p. 155); condenado (see condenadota, p. 247); cueva (see cuevaman, p. 171); escapar (see escapashaykichu, p. 235, and escapawanmannachu, p. 264); hacha (see hachachantin, p. 137); rescatar (see rescatapunku, p. 222); sonso (see sonsoqa, p. 230); tenaza (see tenazakunawan, p. 165); viajero (see viajerokunaman, p. 166).

(k) Words related to leisure and entertainment

The thirty-nine forms found in this category related mainly to fiestas, and modern forms of recreation like the cinema. Some, such as bailarín (Quechua tusuq) are in competition with native forms. Among them are arranque (a kind of firework: see arranquekunata, p. 152); bailarín (see bailarinkunapas, p. 153); cine (see cineman, p. 170); danza (see danzakunawan, p. 156); disco (see discokunata, p. 156); distraer (see distraekamuyku, p. 142); feria (see feriapi, p. 214);

festejar (see festejanku, p. 200), fuegos artificiales (see artifici-alesta, p. 244); fútbol (see futbolpi, p. 215 — this form is of course borrowed in turn from English); orquesta (see orquestapi, p. 218); pito (see pitopi, p. 218); recreos (see recreoskunallapi, p. 150).

(1) Words relating to the household and clothing

The largest number of words from Spanish were found in this category. Many of them are the names given to members of the extended family — the network of relationships based on mutual obligations introduced by the Spaniards. Among the forms found are abuela (see abuelachay, p. 136); adobe (see adobekunata, p. 151); ahijado (see ahijadokunataqa, p. 151); avenir (see avenikuranichu, p. 143); casar (see casarakunapaqqa, p. 144, and casarakusqaymantapacha, p. 144); madrina (see madrinaykiwan, p. 276); novio (see noviokunaman, p. 161); pareja (see parejantin, p. 204); padrino (see padrinopaqpas, p. 208, and padrinowan, p. 267).

(m) Words relating to village life

These words could, of course, be classified under some of the previous headings, but the eighty-two forms in this category were included here because they referred particularly to village institutions. They included alcalde (see alcaldeta, p. 243); asamblea (see asamblea-kunata, p. 152); asfaltar (see asfaltasqa, p. 239); basural (see basuralman, p. 169); calle (see callekunata, p. 153, and calleman, p. 170); ciudadano (see ciudadanokunankupaq, p. 154); consejo (see consejopi, p. 213); estadio (see estadioman, p. 171); faena (see faenakunata, p. 157); gobernador (see gobernadorkunawan, p. 158); lotizar (see lotizapunku, p. 222); municipal (see municipalwan, p. 267); parque (see parquenkuna, p. 186); piscina (see piscinan, p. 183);

plaza (see plazaman, p. 174); pueblo (see pueblochakunata, p. 137);
regidor (see regidorkunag, p. 164); vecino (see vecinokunag, p. 166).

(n) Toponymy and personal names

In comparison with the very large number of Quechua place-names (see page 67) there are very few Spanish ones in the transcriptions. They are Francia (see Franciamanta, p. 177), Inglaterra (see Inglaterramanta, p. 178), Estados Unidos (see Estados Unidomantapas [sic], p. 180), San Salvador (see Salvadormanta, p. 179), Santa Rosa (see Rosaman, p. 175), San Pedro and Santa Ana (the last two found unmodified in the transcriptions). On the other hand, with the few exceptions mentioned on page 67, the informants' names were Spanish. The only Quechua personal names introduced into the Quechua texts were those of the characters in folk tales, such as Paucar Illa and Huaman T'ika (informant 9).

(o) Compound forms

These were phrases found in the Quechua corpus, such as de veras (see veraschu, p. 140), de repente (see repentenata, p. 191) and qué tal (see talpaq, p. 208).

(p) Lexical interference and integration: summary

What conclusions may be drawn from this very extensive body of words found in the Quechua transcriptions, and used, as may be seen from the corpus of examples, in conjunction with a very large number of Quechua suffixes? As in the case of the Quechua forms used in Spanish, it is impossible without further testing to state categorically how much of this lexicon may be regarded as being part of the langue of

Quechua and Spanish speaker alike. The following words occurred in the speech of the three incipient bilinguals whose knowledge of Spanish was only receptive (informants 61, 62 and 64): animal, antes, arrendatario (the actual form was arrendatero, presumably by analogy with arriero etc.), avenir, cargar, cebada, certificado, cólera, consuelo, después, empleo, familia, fruta, ganar, habas, hacienda, hasta, lado, loma, ni, orientar, oveja, pasar, pensar, pensión, reñir, señora, señorita, sufrir, trabajar, trabajo, tranquilo, trasladar, vida.

Although these forms were found in the Spanish of incipient bilinguals, I would suggest that their variety indicates that the three informants are on the borderline between incipient bilingualism and subordinate bilingualism. Two words, especially, were surprising: avenir (see avenikuranichu, p. 143) and orientar (see orientakamunichu, p. 142), both of them found in the speech of the same informant (62). I found myself at a loss to explain their presence, unless they had been acquired by listening to the radio (orientar is particularly in vogue at present). The informant did not possess a radio, but he may have had access to one, or heard the radios in Calca.

I believe that it is in the sphere of religious terminology that we may be most certain of the presence of integrated forms — those forms learned by bilinguals and monolinguals as part of their mother tongue. Words such as casar, cristiano, cruz, cura, iglesia, milagro, rezar are widely used in the speech of monolingual (or incipient bilingual) Quechua speakers. This is probably attributable to the presence of the church (sporadically, at least) in the most isolated communities since the time of the Conquest. The phonemic form of these words will certainly vary when used by Quechua speakers: cura, for example, may be given an initial postvelar followed by a more open vowel, /qóra/, and iglesia be pronounced as /egléʃa/, where the /g/ is post-velarized. These

changes will be described in detail in § 4.

In the speech of the coordinate and subordinate (1S:2Q) bilinguals interviewed, it was clear that there was almost no limit to the introduction of loan words into their Quechua speech. Even taking into account the possibility that some informants introduced an unnecessarily large amount of Spanish words for my benefit (taking their cue from the fact that the interviews were, with the exception of the three Quechua-speaking informants, conducted in Spanish), and that they would not normally have discussed some of the topics in Quechua, the amount of Spanish material borrowed into the Quechua is remarkable, showing that theoretically at least, there are no limits imposed on this process. Designative inadequacies in Quechua vocabulary are rarely, if ever, supplied by loan shifts (the translation of Spanish words by Quechua forms) or loan blends (the mixture of translation and transfer). Instead there is unlimited borrowing in the shape of loan words.

4. Phonemic Interference and Integration

(a) Introduction

In this section we shall be looking at the material presented in the corpus of examples, and in the Quechua transcriptions in general, to see if there are any cases of the introduction of Spanish phonemes into the Quechua, as informants perceive the Quechua sounds in terms of the Spanish sound system. The same sub-headings as used in Chapter III will be kept, distinguishing between subordinate and coordinate bilinguals and incipient bilinguals (see pages 70 and 72-75).

(b) The phonemes of Quechua and Spanish

It is not necessary here to set out again both the tables of phonemes on pages 71-72, but the Spanish one is repeated below, with the phonemes not occurring in the Quechua inventory boxed in.

Vowels. The Spanish vowels /e/ and /o/ are not subject to the complementary distribution of Quechua /e/ and /o/ described on page 71.

They are:-

i u
e o
a

Consonants

	<u>labial</u>	<u>dental</u>	<u>alveolar</u>	<u>palatal</u>	<u>velar</u>
plain stops	p	b d	t	ç	k g
nasals	m		n	ñ	
spirants			s		
laterals			l	ļ	
fricatives	f v				x
flaps			r		
trill			r̄		
semivowels	w			y	

The Spanish phonemes not found in the Quechua inventory are the voiced bilabial stop /b/, the voiceless apico-dental stop /d/, the voiced velar stop /g/, the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ and the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/, the voiceless velar fricative /x/ and the alveolar trill /r̄/.

(c) Phonemic interference and integration in the speech of informants whose first language is Spanish

The most noticeable tendency among these informants was that of simplifying the aspirated and glottalised postvelar stops into a single

plain postvelar and occasionally even a velar stop, as we saw in the case of Quechua loans (Chapter III, § 4(c), pp. 72ff.). Thus llank'anku 'they work' is often [l̃ankanku] with no glottalisation; q'ala 'all, many' may be pronounced [kala]. Where Spanish is the informant's first language, the Quechua aspirated bilabial stop /ph/ may be reproduced as the Spanish /f/, as in the name Lliphlleq, often pronounced among Spanish speakers as [l̃ifl̃ex]. The Quechua syllable-final post-velar [ɣ] more often than not is reproduced as a velar by a Spanish speaker, as in [ñoqapax]. I did not find any instances of the /t/ becoming /d/ in Quechua words, although the reverse occurs among Quechua speakers, and a /d/ in Spanish may be devoiced to a /t/ or a /b/ to a /p/ (I did not observe this in Calca, but it has been documented).¹ All the consonants which are not found in the Quechua inventory, except for the alveolar trill /r/, were introduced by these informants in Spanish loan words: /x/ occurs in angelchakunata [anxelçakunata] (informant 19) and juguetechakuna [xugeteçakuna] (informant 27; /b/ occurs in bultochayta [bul̃toçaita] (informant 11) and sombrerochakuna [sombreroçakuna] (informant 8); /g/ is found in segurochu [seguruçu] (informant 82) and in agostokama [agostokama] (informant 52); /v/ is in vestichinaykutaq [vestiçinaikutax] (informant 68) and in veraschu [verasçu] (informant 71); /f/ occurs in faltakuspayku [faltakuspaiku] (informant 40) and festejakun [festexakun] (informant 14); and /d/ is found in danzakunawan [dانسakunawan] (informant 28) and in discokunata [diskokunata] (informant 92).

In the corpus of examples it will be clear that Spanish vowel final forms are frequently subject to phonemic changes when they are in conjunction with Quechua suffixes. This is true of nouns and verb

1. See for example Gifford 1969, p. 167.

stems. These changes occur in final /o/ and final /e/ forms, which in conjunction with a Quechua suffix close to final /u/ and final /i/. There are many examples in the corpus, such as calle > calli (as in [kaʎipi], p. 211), entender > entendi (as in [entendiçikuni], p. 139), and cargo > cargu (as in [karguyoq], p. 280). These changes were invariable in the speech of informants who had acquired Spanish as a second language, and very frequent among informants with Spanish as a first language.

(d) Phonemic interference in the speech of
informants whose first language is Quechua

Phonemic interference from Spanish in the speech of these informants was only evident in the case of phonemes brought in in Spanish loans. There was no evidence in their speech of simplification as in the case of (1S:2Q) bilinguals; the distinctions between the Quechua aspirated, glottalised and plain stops were maintained, as in llank'asunchis (informant 38) and ch'ustikusunchis (informant 46). All the phonemes of the Spanish inventory were present in the speech of (1Q:2S) bilinguals, but within the context of Spanish loans.

(e) Phonemic interference in the speech
of coordinate bilinguals

These informants maintained the Quechua phonemic distinctions, but Spanish phonemes were introduced within Spanish loans.

(f) Stress and tone changes

Spanish speakers (1S:2Q) had no problem with Quechua stress, since it is invariable. In the case of Spanish words in combination with Quechua suffixes, they, as well as (1Q:2S) speakers, placed primary

stress on the penultimate syllable, and in the case of some (1S:2Q) speakers secondary stress on the syllable normally stressed in the Spanish word. This may be seen in a word such as animalchakunáta, where a Spanish speaker may add secondary stress on the third syllable, thus animàlchakunáta. Tone is not significant in Quechua, and Quechua speakers and most (1Q:2S) speakers will maintain a consistently flat tone in speaking, while (1S:2Q) speakers will give themselves away frequently by distinguishing phrase types with intonation (rising interrogative tone, etc.).¹

(g) Phonemic interference and integration: summary

The following patterns were observed among the informants interviewed in Calca: Spanish phonemes were introduced into the Quechua speech of (1S:2Q) speakers in Quechua words through a process of reinterpretation — especially in the case of Quechua aspirates and glottals being reproduced as plain stops, and postvelars as velars. All the non-Quechua phonemes occurred in Spanish loans into Quechua. This process of interlingual identification did not occur in the case of (1Q:2S) speakers, but they also introduced Spanish phonemes in loans. Within the context of Calca it is clear that all the Spanish phonemes are used by bilingual speakers, but it would not be true to say they are integrated in Quechua speech as a whole. This would require further testing.

1. Cf. Rowe 1950, p. 139.

5. Grammatical Interference and Integration

(a) Introduction

In this section we shall be examining the evidence for the introduction of Spanish bound morphemes and syntactic patterns into Quechua.

(b) The transfer of bound morphemes

The only bound morphemes transferred into Quechua are verb stems, and of course they are not of the same degree of boundness as inflectional suffixes. Of these verb stems 132 out of a total of 165 different Spanish verbs in the Quechua transcriptions are -ar stem verbs. Of the rest, 18 are -er stem and 15 are -ir stem. Only the -er stem verbs are sometimes modified phonemically by (1Q:2S) speakers when inflected by means of a Quechua suffix — see for example compredechini (p. 139) or leemuni (p. 181). No inflectional suffixes are transferred from Spanish to Quechua, and derivational ones, such as diminutives, only in conjunction with another Spanish loan or possibly with a Quechua form integrated into Spanish (such as rocotito, ñutito, etc.). No Spanish diminutives were found in the transcripts, and it is likely that the Quechua diminutive -cha is so widely used even among Spanish speakers (in niñucha, regularcha, etc.) that even a (1S:2Q) speaker will use it instead of transferring a Spanish diminutive.

(c) The transfer of syntactic patterns

Among informants whose first language was Spanish, there was one very common case of Spanish influence in their Quechua. Normally in Quechua the verb is in final position in the sentence.¹ In the Quechua

1. Middendorf 1970, p. 244, section 266.

transcriptions of (1S:2Q) informants there were altogether 108 examples of the Spanish pattern (non-final verb) imposing itself on the Quechua. In the following selection of examples, the verb is in the upper case:-

... LLANK'AMUYKU maquinakunawan, palawan '... we work with machines and spades'

... TAPAMUN chay surcokunata '... he covers over these furrows'

Chay llaqtapi runakuna ... DEDICAKUN agriculturaman 'In this town the people ... spend their time in farming' (this is of course a direct translation of the Spanish "se dedican a la agricultura")

Hinaspa CAMBIAKUNI limpiowan 'And then I change into clean things'

Paykunataqmi GANANKU mana hornaltachu 'They don't even earn a daily wage'

Chaymanta RUWANKU rocoto rellenota 'Then they cook stuffed peppers'

... porque RIMANI runa simita '... because I speak Quechua'

Ñoga ... EMPLEANI quechuata a cada rato 'I ... use Quechua all the time'

Hinaspa chay negociopi RANTIN tawa chunkata vacata 'So in this business he sells forty cows'

This kind of construction was not found in the transcriptions of informants whose first language was Quechua, and only very occasionally in the speech of coordinate bilinguals.

The most interesting feature of the Quechua of informants who had learned Quechua as a second language was the literal translation of a Spanish phrase into Quechua, as in:-

Chaymantataq según examen qosqaykuman hina notata horqoyku (qoy 'to give' and horqoy 'to take out') 'Según damos examen, así sacamos la nota'

Gustawanmi ñogaman tipiyqa 'A mí me gusta tipinar' (here the Quechua transitional has been used to translate "a mí me gusta")

Wakin compañeraykunataq mal churakapun 'Muchas de mis compañeras se pusieron mal' (the Quechua verb churay means literally 'to put')

Papaytaq machayman qokuran 'Mi papá se dió a la borrachera' (the Quechua verb qoy means literally 'to give')

The third main trait which was observed in the Quechua of informants of all degrees of bilingualism was the frequent redundant use of words such as hasta and quizás in examples like the following:-

... hasta octava Corpuskama '... until the eighth day of Corpus'

... hasta tardekama '... until late'

... hasta más o menos ... agostokama '... until about ... August'

In these examples the hasta is redundant because the Quechua suffix -kama is its equivalent. In the following example the quizás is redundant because the final accented suffix -chá is synonymous:-

Quizás willaykimanpaschá 'Perhaps I will tell you'

Finally, the tendency already noted in Chapter III for Quechua speakers to make mistakes in the formation of Quechua verbs was also observed in the Quechua speech of these informants when they introduced verbs from Spanish, only now it is not that they have trouble with the conjugation of the verb, but the formation of the root, which is often formed by analogy with a noun, as in fiestanku (see p. 198) 'they celebrate', given instead of festejanku which occurs elsewhere in the corpus, and created by analogy with fiesta (the context shows that the 3rd plural possessive of fiesta is not meant); ofrendanku (see p. 201) 'they offer', given instead of a hypothetical ofrecenku by analogy with ofrenda (again the context shows that the 3rd plural possessive was not intended); and haciendadokunata (see p. 158) 'the farmers' (pl.), which is a case of a noun being created by analogy with another noun, hacienda.

Such cases of analogy are of course found all over the Spanish-speaking domain (e.g. juegar for jugar formed by analogy with juego, found in colloquial peninsular speech), but in the corpus these cases were limited to speakers whose first language was Quechua.

A related case is the confusion between the infinitive verb stem and the tonic verb stem, as in atienden 'he attends', asciendenitay 'and I go up', pierdepun 'he loses'. Quechua verbs are formed by the addition of inflectional suffixes to the verb root, and when the verb is borrowed from Spanish, the Spanish stem is used. Where these verbs have

stem changes in the Spanish, these are followed when they are transferred into Quechua, so that the possible forms atenden, ascendeni (or ascendini) and perdepun (or perdipun) are not found. This particular characteristic may only apply to the speech of those with more Spanish than Quechua. Among Quechua speakers there may be less tendency to diphthongise, since the ie diphthong is unknown in Quechua.

(d) Grammatical interference and integration: summary

The only syntactic pattern observed to be transferred from Spanish into Quechua in any quantity is that of the subject-verb-object pattern, contrasting with the Quechua verb-final form. The only bound morphemes transferred to Quechua from Spanish are verb stems. In the speech of all types of bilingual, examples of literal translation of Spanish patterns into Quechua were found, together with certain pleonastic usages. Informants who had acquired Spanish as a second language frequently formed verbs by analogy with nouns, or nouns by analogy with other nouns.

6. Conclusions

Interference of Spanish in Quechua, especially in the field of lexicon, is dramatically more widespread than that of Quechua in Spanish. Spanish words were not only borrowed in the field where loans might be expected — religion, education, law and politics — but also in categories where it might be expected that they would compete more with native forms. In a less urban area there is little doubt that the native forms are in much wider use, and it is impossible to be categorical about the degree of integration of the majority of Spanish forms in

Quechua, although religious lexicon is the most likely to be part of the langue of the Quechua speaker even in remote areas. In the speech of the monolingual Spanish speakers (or incipient bilinguals) integrated loans from Quechua were observed, but not of the quantity found in the transcriptions of the Quechua incipient bilinguals. It is clear that the process of acquisition of Spanish is a much less static affair than that of the acquisition of Quechua, for very simple social reasons — the acquisition of Spanish is a prerequisite for social mobility in a Spanish-speaking society.

C H A P T E R F I V E

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: THE PROSPECTS FOR BILINGUALISM

1. Introduction

This chapter is divided into three sections: in the first, the findings described in Chapters III and IV and tabulated in the corpus of examples are summarised and their implications discussed. The second part of the chapter (§3) will consider some of the social questions raised by the investigation in Calca, and the third section (§4) will go on to describe the current situation in Peru with regard to bilingualism.

2. Linguistic Implications of Bilingualism in Calca

The transcriptions of the material recorded by the one hundred Calca informants together with continuous informal observation yielded overwhelming evidence for the widespread influence of Spanish in Quechua — a word count of the transcriptions showed a percentage of 24.5 per cent of Spanish forms in the Quechua material, as opposed to 7.3 per cent of Quechua forms in Spanish.

Among the informants in Calca, the influence of Quechua in Spanish was found to take the shape of a certain number of integrated loan words, that is, Quechua words found to be present in the speech of bilinguals of all degrees and of monolingual or incipient bilingual Spanish speakers. Phonemic and syntactic interference from Quechua in Spanish was only present in the speech of those who had learned Spanish as a second language. Among informants who spoke Spanish as a first

language, loan words from Quechua had been assimilated into the Spanish phonemic system by the process of diaphonic identification — the reproduction of Quechua phonemes in terms of Spanish ones.

The influence of Spanish in Quechua among the same informants was not limited to integrated historical loans, nor was it present only in the speech of those acquiring Quechua as a second language. Firstly it took the form of a very large number of loan words, only a small proportion of which could be tentatively identified as integrated forms (mainly religious lexicon). These loan words were taken into Quechua by adaptation on the basis of sound, not of meaning — they are, in current terminology, homophonous diamorphic identifications, not loan shifts, which are made on identification of meaning. This would indicate that Quechua is not conservative, and will apparently absorb an infinite number of Spanish loan words (we recall the study of the Yaqui and Tewa Indians — the non-conservative Yaqui borrowed copiously from Spanish in the form of loan words while the Tewa limited borrowing to synonymous loan shifts). Cases of possible loan shifts have been recorded in Peru (see page 69), but none occurred in the material collected in Calca. Phonemic interference from Spanish was noted in the Quechua of most informants, and was not limited only to Spanish loan words. As in the case of Quechua loans into Spanish, it took the shape of identification of Quechua phonemes in terms of Spanish ones, and of the extended distribution of certain Quechua vowel phonemes. Syntactic interference took the form of changes in word order, and examples were found not only in the case of informants who had acquired Quechua as a second language, but even of those classed as coordinate bilinguals or of (1Q:2S) subordinate bilinguals. The slavish translation of Spanish turns of phrase into Quechua was, in the main, limited to informants acquiring Quechua as a second language.

Of the loan words from Spanish found in the Quechua material, the great majority were nominals, introduced as labels for items from Spanish-Peruvian culture not previously found in Quechua culture.¹ These loan words were found in conjunction with a very large number of Quechua derivational and inflectional suffixes (a total of fifty-seven in addition to the transitional suffixes which are classed all together in the corpus of examples). A certain amount of phonemic modification took place when a Spanish form was followed by Quechua suffixes, but these were limited to the change of /o/ to /u/ and of /e/ to /i/ in Spanish verb stems and vowel-final nominal forms. Some of these phonemic changes are now integrated in Quechua and serrano Spanish (e.g. carguyoc 'person in charge of a fiesta').

The influence of Quechua in Spanish among individuals who speak Spanish as a first language is completely static — there is no increase in the number of forms being adopted into Spanish from Quechua. Designative inadequacies are supplied by Spanish words and there is no great pressure brought to bear on such individuals to learn Quechua. Among informants who had acquired Spanish as a second language, Quechua influence can be seen in their Spanish in terms of a few Quechua phonemes, stress patterns and syntactic features, but not in the lexicon which is limited to the integrated loans found also in the speech of monolingual Spanish speakers.

The influence of Spanish in Quechua among informants with Quechua as a first language was predominantly found in the lexicon in which there is apparently unlimited borrowing from Spanish. Some Spanish syntactic forms were also to be found in their Quechua. Among informants whose first language was Spanish, the importation of Spanish

1. Cf. Weinreich 1967, p. 37, for a discussion of the reasons for the predominance of nominal forms among loan words.

lexicon was again widespread, as was the borrowing of syntactic patterns and the literal translation of Spanish forms.

There is no reason to suppose that the process of borrowing from Spanish into Quechua will decrease. The material collected in Calca shows the reverse trend. But against the evidence for wholesale borrowing from Spanish into Quechua we must also weigh the fact of the demographic importance of Quechua. In this sense Quechua is unlike Huave, which is very definitely a minority language. While Quechua has always been the socially inferior language, it has remained, in the sierra area at least, demographically very important. Its isolation since colonial times has been the main cause of its present importance — we might even conclude that Quechua is indebted to the encomienda system for its survival, since it was the enforcement of this system that drove the Indian population into the mountains where Quechua continued to flourish.

What results may be expected in the future, in a situation where Spanish is, at present, the socially dominant language but where Quechua is demographically very important? Could the kind of Quechua described here, with its vast amount of assimilative changes, be termed a pidgin? The mixture of Spanish and Quechua spoken in sierra towns such as Calca has been sometimes called "quechuañol", giving the impression of an already formed amalgamation of the two languages.¹ This impression is quite false: as we have seen, the interference from Spanish into Quechua is very largely lexical and not grammatical (grammar being notoriously more resistant to change than lexicon),² and therefore cannot be termed a pidgin. Moreover, the social factors which cause this kind of

1. See for example Alencastre n.d., p. 10.

2. See Haugen 1956, pp. 72ff.

contact vernacular to emerge are missing in the Quechua-Spanish situation. Pidgins arise in a limited contact situation, not in the intimate contact situation we have described.¹

Nevertheless, influence is not entirely one-way. The importance of the kind of Spanish spoken by individuals who acquire it as a second language cannot be ignored. It is Spanish which is strongly influenced phonemically (not only in terms of the importation of Quechua phonemes, but also tonally and in stress patterns) and syntactically by Quechua. It is very different indeed from the Spanish learned as a first language, and it is this version of Spanish which the Quechua speaker acquires, since his closest contacts will usually be, not with persons who have Spanish as a first language, but with those who have acquired Spanish through, as it were, a Quechua filter.

The evidence would seem to point to an increase in a variety of Quechua in which Spanish lexicon abounds, and in which the range of Quechua phonemes is decreased (though in a few cases their distribution is increased), while Spanish phonemes replace them or are used in addition to them.

3. The Social Implications of Bilingualism in Calca

It is not necessary to repeat here the impressions recorded in Chapter II of the disabilities inherent in monolingualism, and especially in Quechua monolingualism.

One further note should be added. The story included in the preface illustrates in a humorous way the disabilities faced by the

1. The conditions for the formation of a pidgin were not found to be present in the Huave situation either: see Diebold 1961, p. 179.

Quechua speaker in a Spanish-speaking world. But there is evidence that the damage done in a situation where one language is socially dominant is more than a mere inconvenience.

Morínigo wrote of the Quechua-speaking people of northern Argentine:-

... todavía más pobres son los habitantes de los valles calchaquíes, de raza india menos mezclada y con escasos contactos con el resto del país. Sobre todo los habitantes de las pequeñas aldeas y puestos de pastores producen la impresión penosa de quien habla una lengua de la cual apenas conoce los rudimentos. Hablando con ellos de las cosas más triviales parece que de pronto van a sustituir el español que no saben por otra en que pueden expedirse mejor. Es decir que son hombres que han perdido una lengua y aún no están en posesión de la otra. Se suele hablar un poco ingenuamente de la tristeza muda del indio. El indio, en mi opinión, es mudo y triste muchas veces solamente porque no sabe aún la lengua que le han impuesto.¹

This same kind of handicap is discussed at length by de Granda in his controversial study of English and Spanish in Puerto Rico. Prior to 1940, the Spanish of Puerto Rico had been, in the face of attempted forced American acculturation, extremely conservative, and parallel to the case of the Tewa. De Granda describes the rural Spanish at that time as having

riqueza de formas, abundancia de léxico, expresión viva, exacta y detallista de objetos y aspectos de la naturaleza y de la vida cotidiana, abundancia de elementos léxicos emotivamente condicionados, tendencia general conservadora en cuanto a léxico y moderadamente innovadora en fonética, y atención a la propiedad, belleza y corrección expresiva.²

However, since 1940 the situation has changed and has become very akin to that of the Yaqui, who in a situation of permissive acculturation borrowed so widely from Spanish. English has become the prestige language, identified in the minds of all but a few with social and economic betterment, while Spanish is considered fit only for the lower

1. Morínigo 1952, p. 88.

2. De Granda 1969, pp. 125-126.

classes. This has resulted in a Spanish with an impoverished and simplified lexicon, which depends on extensive literal translation of English turns of phrase. According to Grande, much of this impoverishment and simplification occurs because of "los condicionamientos psíquicos (timidez expresiva) y socioculturales".¹

There is little doubt that Quechua is in very much the same position as Puerto Rican Spanish. The whole tendency at present is towards simplification and slavish reproduction of Spanish syntactic patterns, and towards the replacement of Quechua lexicon by Spanish forms. Although the focus of this process is the towns and villages, and we might therefore conclude that with a large rural population there would be no danger of this process becoming general, the importance of the towns and villages as centres of innovation cannot be underestimated: the large-scale migration from the towns to Lima and the coast is also reflected in the centripetal influence of the small towns. Only a radical change in the structure of Peruvian society as a whole, with a re-evaluation of the position of Quechua, could affect the process of assimilative change in Quechua.

4. Current Prospects for Bilingualism in Peru

In 1961 a very interesting resolution was taken before the Peruvian Chamber of Deputies, signed by thirteen members. It was a realistic assessment of the Peruvian situation with regard to the Indian, and suggested some realistic answers. Some of these problems and the solutions suggested are listed below.²

1. De Granda 1969, p. 174.

2. The entire document is reproduced in Instituto de Lenguas Aborígenes 1962, pp. 10-11.

Los Diputados que suscriben:

CONSIDERANDO:

Que más de la mitad de la población del Perú habla el Quechua o RUNA-SIMI, llamada históricamente la Lengua General de los Indios del Perú;

Que los cuatro siglos de opresión idiomática que se ha ejercido sobre las lenguas nativas, especialmente en el transcurso de la República, no han reducido ni extirpado la bella lengua de los Incas;

Que la postergación y desdén hacia las lenguas nativas significa la supervivencia del espíritu colonial, cuya tendencia fue destruir sistemáticamente todo lo que representaba la cultura autóctona;

Que la unidad peruana no podrá conseguirse a base de discriminaciones, sino a base del respeto a todas las características de cada uno de los grupos étnicos constitutivos de nuestra nacionalidad;

Que el proceso de castellanización no debe ser de proscripción de ninguna de las lenguas que se hablan en nuestro territorio;

Que es cosa probada internacionalmente que la enseñanza de la lectura en la lengua nativa, durante los primeros años elementales, constituye el mejor camino para que el educando aprenda con más facilidad la lengua oficial, sin adquirir complejos ni sufrir desmembramiento en su personalidad;

Que esta afirmación ha quedado ampliamente comprobada en nuestro país, merced a la enseñanza bilingüe que imparte el Instituto Lingüístico del Verano, gracias a la cual los selvícolas aprenden a través de su propio idioma, fácilmente el castellano.

Presenta a la consideración de ambas cámaras, el siguiente:

Proyecto de Ley.

El Congreso ha dado la Ley siguiente:

- Art. 1º - Declárase el Quechua, Lengua Oficial Regional en los Departamentos de Ancash, Junín, Pasco, Huánuco, Ayacucho, Huancaavelica, Apurímac, Cuzco y Puno;
- Art. 2º - Declárase obligatoria la enseñanza bilingüe, española-quechua, en todos los establecimientos de instrucción Primaria del país; durante los dos primeros años escolares;
- Art. 3º - Declárase oficial el alfabeto quechua aprobado en el Tercer Congreso Indigenista Interamericano, sin perjuicio de que su revisión sea propuesta en próximos Congresos Indigenistas Interamericanos;
- Art. 4º - Es obligatorio el conocimiento del quechua para los siguientes funcionarios: Director de Asuntos Indígenas, Director del Instituto Indigenista Peruano, Jefe del Plan Nacional de Integración de la Población Aborígen; maestros primarios, jueces, Policías e instructores militares que desempeñan sus cargos en los departamentos mencionados en el artículo 1º. En todos los Hospitales que el Estado, el Seguro Social y las Beneficencias mantienen en los departamentos citados, deberá tener intérpretes del quechua y aymará.
- Art. 5º - Será obligatoria la enseñanza bilingüe, castellano-aymará,

en los dos primeros años de Educación Primaria, en las provincias de Puno, Chucuito y Huancané, del Departamento de Puno.

- Art. 6º - A fin de dar al Ministerio de Educación el tiempo necesario para la organización de la enseñanza bilingüe y la formación de los cuadros de Maestros que inicien este sistema, lo preceptuado en el artículo 2º de este ley, entrará en vigencia al año de haberse promulgado.
- Art. 7º - El Ministerio de Educación queda encargado del cumplimiento de la presente ley, debiendo para el efecto formar cuadros consultivos de asesoramiento con los especialistas de la Sección de Filosofía de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, de las Cátedras de Quechua de las Universidades del Cuzco, Puno y Ayacucho, así como de las Universidades Católicas de Lima y Comunal de Huancayo, del Instituto Lingüístico de Verano y del Instituto Indigenista del Perú y de la Academia Nacional de la Lengua Quechua del Cuzco.
- Art. 8º - El Ministerio de Educación formulará el respectivo Presupuesto para hacer efectiva la implantación del bilingüismo, quedando así mismo obligado a elaborar la reglamentación que se requiera para acomodar la Ley a las modalidades locales.

Lima, 18 de Noviembre de 1961.
(Firmado por 13 Diputados).

The suggested law was never promulgated, and there was no further concrete discussion of the matter until 1968, and the change of government.¹

The statutes of the revolutionary government listed among their objects:-

... Promover a superiores niveles de vida, compatibles con la dignidad de la persona humana, a los sectores menos favorecidos de la población, realizando la transformación de las estructuras económicas, sociales y culturales del país.²

In a volume dedicated to an exposition of the educational policies of the new government, the author traces the present problems of Peru to the basic disequilibrium in society, and continues:-

1. I am not here taking into account the work in bilingual education carried out by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, mentioned on p. 44 n. 3, since I am concerned with education in Quechua.

2. República del Perú 1970, p. 1.

En virtud de tales desequilibrios, la riqueza en sus múltiples manifestaciones se concentra en las manos de un grupo dominante cuya propia existencia privilegiada se basa en la marginación que sufren vastos sectores de la sociedad. Hasta hoy, todo el aparato institucional del país reflejó y sirvió de respaldo y justificación al ordenamiento social establecido, cuyo funcionamiento tendió a perpetuar los desequilibrios internos, esencia misma del subdesarrollo.¹

A large part of the answer to this problem of inequality is literacy and education in general, and the document is quite clear in its attitude here:-

... la población que no habla castellano será, en lo posible, alfabetizada en su lengua materna. La preocupación del Gobierno y de la Reforma Educativa por las grandes mayorías marginadas, es decir, la llamada población indígena, especialmente de las áreas rurales de la Sierra, tiene su expresión más significativa en una revaloración de las lenguas aborígenes, y en particular el quechua, como productos culturales de por sí valiosos e instrumentos de comunicación entre vastos sectores de peruanos. Hasta hoy estas lenguas han sido descuidadas cuando no despreciadas y no se las ha considerado como vehículo de educación digno de ser oficialmente reconocido y promovido por el estado ... Por cierto que el reconocimiento de la importancia de las lenguas aborígenes y su utilización oficial en la educación no implican el abandono de la enseñanza del castellano. Este es un instrumento necesario para todos los peruanos en la medida en que sirve a los fines de la comunicación a escala nacional. De hecho, la enseñanza en la lengua aborígen es quizá la mejor manera de progresar en la castellanización, porque los niños alfabetizados en su lengua materna pueden asimilar más adecuada y prontamente la lengua castellana. De esta suerte la alfabetización en lengua aborígen se liga a la universalización de la lengua oficial del Perú, y la castellanización se efectúa y se amplía sin eradicar las lenguas aborígenes que forman parte del acervo cultural de nuestra nación. El objeto es, más bien, suprimir una de las barreras que hasta hoy aíslan a los sectores de población que no hablan castellano. Estas grandes masas no sólo están privadas del contacto directo con los mecanismos del poder económico, político y social, sino que también, al estar marginadas de los circuitos informativos, pierden toda posibilidad de participación efectiva. Tal situación es la que la Reforma busca cancelar a la vez que, por la alfabetización, el lengua aborígen logrará expandir realmente la educación a toda la población peruana.²

These are fine words, and the aims of the new education policy are undoubtedly realistic, but it remains to be seen what will be accomplished.

1. República del Perú 1970, p. 11.

2. Ibid., pp. 187-88.

There are many problems — among the most outstanding, the provision of truly bilingual teachers to staff the schools in the rural areas. It is inconceivable that four centuries of prejudice against Quechua should be eradicated overnight, and the old attitudes are very deeply entrenched.

Until such time as there is widespread and lasting reform of the social structures in Peru (dependent basically upon land and educational reform), it is the small sierra towns such as Calca which provide the essential place of contact with Spanish for the Indian. They are the crucibles from which emerges the extraordinary amalgam of Spanish and Quechua which has been described here. Towns such as these will be the testing grounds for the government's new policy of integration, since it is what happens here that most deeply affects what happens in the country around.

C O R P U S O F E X A M P L E S

F R O M T H E Q U E C H U A

T R A N S C R I P T I O N S

INTRODUCTION TO THE CORPUS

The corpus consists of examples of every Spanish word found in conjunction with a Quechua suffix or suffixes in the text of the Quechua transcriptions, ordered, as may be seen in the index, according to the initial letters of the suffixes and, within these groups, according to the initial letter of the non-phonetic spelling of the Spanish words. In the left-hand column, the Spanish-Quechua words are transcribed phonetically. In the right-hand column, the words appear in context, separated by hyphens into their Spanish and Quechua components, and followed by a translation of the Spanish word and an analysis of the Quechua suffixes in brackets. The list of abbreviations will be found on page iv, above. A free English translation follows each example. Each Quechua suffix found in the corpus in conjunction with a Spanish word is introduced in a brief section describing its usage and referring to other descriptions in the literature.

The phonetic symbols used in the transcriptions have been adapted, for typographical reasons, from the system used by Navarro Tomás.¹ Some symbols have been added for the transcription of Quechua phonemes. The symbols used are as follows:-

			ɭ as in <u>al</u> to
a as in pa <u>d</u> re	f as in fá <u>c</u> il	ɭ as in a <u>l</u> zar	
ɤ as in ma <u>l</u>	g as in ma <u>ng</u> a	ʃ as in ca <u>st</u> illo	
b as in tu <u>m</u> ba	g as in ro <u>g</u> ar	m as in a <u>m</u> ar	
ɸ as in ha <u>b</u> a	i as in pi <u>d</u> e	n as in ma <u>n</u> o	
ĉ as in mu <u>ch</u> o	ɨ as in ge <u>n</u> til	ɲ as in o <u>n</u> za	
d as in co <u>n</u> de	ɨ as in pe <u>i</u> ne	ɲ as in mo <u>n</u> te	
ɖ as in rue <u>d</u> a	j as in ni <u>e</u> to	ɳ as in ci <u>n</u> co	
e as in can <u>té</u>	k as in ca <u>s</u> a	ñ as in a <u>ñ</u> o	
q as in pe <u>r</u> ro	l as in lu <u>n</u> a	o as in can <u>t</u> o	

1. Navarro Tomás 1950, pp. 32-33.

q	as in	amor	u	as in	puro
p	as in	padre	ɥ	as in	culpa
r	as in	hora	ɥ	as in	causa
ɾ	as in	perro (alveolar trill)	w	as in	hueso
ʀ	as in	perro (assibilated)	x	as in	jamás
s	as in	paso	y	as in	mayo
ʃ	as in	hasta	ÿ	as in	cónyuge
t	as in	tomar			

Symbols used to indicate specifically Quechua phonemes or allophones are:-

- q = syllable-initial post-velar stop
- ɥ = syllable-final post-velar fricative
- x = syllable-final velar to post-velar fricative
- ʃ = palatal spirant

Otherwise symbols correspond to those in the Spanish list. Primary accent is marked ' and secondary accent ` (as in analfabètokunáta).

Many of the words listed occurred several times in the corpus, often within the speech of the same informant. But it was decided to make the list of examples exhaustive, and to include all Spanish words found with Quechua suffixes, because of their possible different combinations or the linguistic interest of the context.

Finally, it should be remembered that many of the examples were drawn from folk-tale material, much of it told by children, and this must account for such oddities as the ninth entry on page 186 or the third entry on page 205.

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abuelachay	chicochaymantapacha	obsequiochantin
abuelachayman	Dioscha	ovejachayku
almacha	escuelacha	pueblocha
altochapi	filocha	pueblochakunata
angelchakunata	hachachantin	regularcha
animalchakunata	juguetechakunata	señoracha
asnocha	monterachakuna	señoracha
bultochayta	Natividadcha	sombrerochakuna
chicachallatañan	negociocha	tiernochakunallata
chicocha	niñocha	tiochay
chicochakunata		

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buenachallaña	limpiochallaña
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<u>Spanish loans + /-âa/ conjectural</u>	138
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ojalachá

<u>Spanish loans + /-âi/ causative</u>	139
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anotachinankupaq	cuidachiwaq	habilitachimuni
cabechispa	entendechikuni	pasachikun
cambiachikuni	entendichinaypaq	pasachinchis
casarachin	firmachini	vestichinaykutaq
comprendichini	habilitachillanitaq	

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veraschu

<u>Spanish loans + /-âu/ negative</u>	140
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segurochu

<u>Spanish loans + /-kama/</u>	140
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agostokama	puntakama	primariakamalla
Corpuskama	puntakama	tardekama

Spanish loans + /-ku/ page 141

(A)

cambiakamuni	escapapakusqaku	quedakapuyku
cambiakamuni	escapapakusqaku	retirakapuni
dedicakun	gozakamusunchis	trasladakamuni
distraekamuyku	orientakamunichu	trasladakapuni
empleakapusqa	paseakamuni	vestikamun
escapakapun		

(B)

alimentakunku	controlakun	ordenakun
alistakunku	dedicakun	picakuq
ampliakun	defendekusqa	plantakun
avenikuranichu	diferenciakun	plantakun
bañakuq	doctorakunaykipaq	porfiakuychu
bañakuyku	educakusaq	preocupakunkuñachu
bañakuyta	educakusharanitaq	procreakunanrayku
cambiakun	entendekun	producikusqanta
cambiakuni	entendekuni	quejakuq
cambiakuq	escapakunku	quejakuqtinku
casarakun	escapakushasqa	realizakun
casarakunapaqqa	estudiakuni	renegakuni
casarakuq	explicakuqtinku	reparakuq
casarakuqkuna	explioakuyman	resentikunankupaq
casarakuqkunapaq	faltakuspayku	salvakuymanpaschá
casarakurani	festejakun	servikunanpaq
casarakusqaku	ganakushani	servikushan
casarakusqaymanta-	gustakuni	suplicakuni
casarakuy /pacha	inclinakuspayku	suplicakuwaqtin
celebrakun	instalakun	trabajakuyku
cobrakun	instruikunku	trabajakushani
cobrakun	invitakullantaq	tratakun
cobrakun	invitakun	valekuna
cobrakunanpaq	masakuq	velakun
controlakun	matriculakusaqraqmi	vendekuspa
controlakun	necesitakun	

Spanish loans + /-kuna/ page 149

(A)

antecedeskunaqachu	cosaskunawan	niñaskunata
artificialeskuna	cosaskunawan	profesorkunas
artificialeskunata	domingokunataqa	recreoskunallapi
compañeraskuna	figuraskunata	ruinaskunata
cosaskunata	libroskunata	tardeskunapi
cosaskunata		

(B)

abogadokunaman	ahijadokunaqa	altarkunata
abonokunata	ahijadokunata	alumnakuna
abonokunawan	ahijadokunata	alumnakuna
adivinizakunata	alajakunata	alumnokuna
adobekunata	alcaldekuna	alumnokunata
ahijadokunapaq	almacigokunata	analfabetokunata

animalkuna
animalkuna
animalkuna
arcokunata
arcokunata
arquerakuna
arranquekunata
artesanokuna
asambleakunata
asuntokunan
autoridadkuna
autoridadkunapas
autoridadkunataqmi
auxiliarkunaq
bailarinkuna
bailarinkunapas
bolivianokunata
caballokunapi
caballokunawan
caldokunata
callekuna
callekunata
callekunata
campesinokuna
campesinokuna
cantinakuna
cargokuna
carreterakuna
casokunapi
ceremoniakunata
chicakuna
chicakuna
chicakuna
chicakuna
chicharronkunata
chicokuna
chicokuna
chifleriakuna
chistekunata
chistekunata
cigarrokunata
ciudadanokunankupaq
clasekuna
clasekunapas
clavokunawan
cohetekunata
colorkuna
compañerokuna
compañerokunaman
comunidadkuna
comunistakuna
consejalkunaq
contribucionkunata
costalkunapi
creenciakuna
cristianokunapaq
cuartokuna

cuentokunata
cuentokunata
cuentokunata
danzakunawan
denunciakunata
descansokunallataña
difuntokunamantapas
discokunata
diurnokuna
domingokunapaq
escuelakunapi
españolkuna
españolkuna
españolkuna
españolkuna
especialistakuna
estacionkuna
expedientekunataqmi
faenakunata
fami liakuna
fami liakuna
fiestakunapiqa
frutakuna
frutakunata
fundokunamanta
gallo kunata
ganaderiakuna
ganadokunapaq
gastokuna
gastokunapi
gentekunaqa
governadorkunawan
granokuna
gringokunapas
hacendadokuna
hacendadokunata
haciendakuna
haciendakuna
haciendakunamanta
haciendakunamanta
haciendakunapas
impuestokunata
impuestokunawan
indiakunaqa
inocentekuna
invitadokuna
jardinkunata
juiciokuna
leccionkunatapas
letrakunatapas
librokunapas
lugarkunapi
lugarkunataqa
maestrokuna
maestrokunata
malignokuna
mamakunaman

mamakunapas
mamakunata
maquinakuna
maquinakunawan
matrimoniokunapi
mercaderiakuna
mercaderiakunapas
mueblekunamanta
muñecakuna
niñakuna
niñakunapiqa
niñokunapas
norteamericanokuna
novenakuna
noviokuna
noviokuna
noviokuna
noviokunaman
noviokunaqa
numerokunatapas
obligacionkuna
ofrendakunata
ovejakunapas
ovejakunata
padrinokuna
padrinokuna
padrinokunaman
padrinokunapas
padrinokunaq
padrinokunata
palabrakunaqa
palabrakunataqa
papelkunata
partekunapiqa
patokuna
pavokuna
pazkunaq
peñakunapi
personakuna
personakunata
plazakuna
presokuna
problema kunata
productokuna
productokunamanta
productokunata
productokunawanmi
productorkuna
profesorakuna
profesorakuna
profesorakunapas
profesorakunata
profesorkunamantaqa
profesorkunapas
pueblokunamanta
pueblokunapiqa
quejakuna

quejakunata	testigokunata	vacakunata
reatakunaga	testigokunataqa	vacakunata
reclusokunata	timbrekunata	vacakunayoqpas
rededorkunata	toldokuna	vacunakunamanta
regidorkunaq	toldokunapas	vecinokuna
ropakunata	trabajadorkuna	vecinokuna
santokuna	trabajokuna	vecinokunaq
santokuna	truchakuna	ventanakunata
soldadokunallan	tumbakunata	viajerokuna
soldadokunawan	vacakuna	viajerokunaman
surcokunata	vacakunamanta	visitakuna
tenazakunawan	vacakunata	voladorakunata

Spanish loans + /-Ia/ limitative page 166

chicallanraq	machetellantinmi	señorllaraq
chicallaña	maestrollamanchu	sitiollapi
consuelolla	montonllata	solemnella
desayunollatapas	negociollayoq	solesllanku
despaciolla	pasallaykutaq	solllapin
escuelallamanchu	pasallaykutaqmi	tiendallatapas
gastollataq	ratolla	tranquilolla
haciendallan	ratollachá	ultimollapiña
ladollanpi	realllatapas	velallapi
machetella		

Spanish loans + /-man/ propensitive page 169

agriculturaman	enteroman	ladoman
altoman	escolarman	ladoman
andaman	escuelaman	ladoman
animalman	escuelaman	ladoman
bandaman	escuelaman	leyman
basuralman	estacionman	maestroman
Boliviaman	estadioman	medicaman
calleman	fiestaman	medicoman
Calvarioman	fiestaman	mercadoman
camalman	fiestaman	mesaman
camalman	habasman	misaman
carcelman	haciendaman	misaman
carcelman	haciendaman	musicaman
carcelman	haciendaman	noviaman
carreteraman	haciendaman	oficinaman
castellanoman	haciendaman	oficinaman
cerroman	haciendaman	omnibusman
cervezeriamanpas	haciendaman	paseoman
cineman	haciendamanga	plantelman
colegiomanchu	hornoman	plazaman
colegiomanmi	iglesiaman	plazaman
conquistaman	iglesiaman	policiaman
consejoman	iglesiaman	postaman
cruzman	jardinmanpas	pozaman
cuartoman	juzgadoman	pozamanchu
cuevaman	juzgadoman	Potrерoman
curaman	kilometroman	procesionman
curamanpas	ladoman	procesionman

Index to the Corpus (v)

Rosaman	techomanmi	tribunalman
señoraman	tendalman	trojeman
sitioman	torreman	trojeman
surman	torreman	ventanaman

Spanish loans + /-manta/ page 175

abigeomanta	fiestamanta	padrinomanta
agrariamanta	fiestamantaqa	partemanta
agropecuariomanta	fiestamantataq	partemanta
agropecuariomanta	Franciamanta	patronamanta
albanilmanta	haciendamanta	pilamanta
almuerzomanta	haciendamanta	polvomanta
anterioromanta	haciendamanta	ponchemanta
antesmantaraq	haciendamanta	razamanta
autoridadmantapas	Inglaterramanta	recadomanta
azucamanta	Inglaterramanta	reumatismomanta
campomanta	juzgadomanta	Salvadormanta
cañamanta	juzgadomanta	seccionmanta
canamantapas	ladomanta	semanamanta
carcelmanta	ladomantachu	sitiomanta
comunidadmanta	liomanta	soldadomanta
cosechamanta	maestromanta	tecnicamanta
escuelamanta	maneramanta	tiestomanta
esquinamanta	misamanta	torremanta
estudiomanta	noblezamanta	trigomanta
extranjeromanta	nortemanta	Unidomantapas
fiestamanta		

Spanish loans + /-mi/ affirmative page 180

compadremi	estacionmi
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Spanish loans + /-mu/ page 181

anotamun	nombramun	sufrimurani
certificamuqti	pasamuran	sufrimuspay
entregamullantaq	pintamuni	tapamun
entregamun	prohibimun	tomamuni
entregamun	prohibimunku	tomamuyku
fastidiamuran	rascamuwan	trasplantamuni
leemuni		

Spanish loans + /-n/ affirmative page 182

alman	maestron	plazanpas
alturanpitaq	maestron	secretarionpa
chicanta	misan	sition
clasen	padrinon	tardenta
fiestan	piscinan	visperan
fiestan		

Spanish loans + /-n/ possessive page 184

ahijadonta	callenkunapas	clasen
caballon	callenkunata	compañeronkunata

Index to the Corpus (vi)

compañeronkunata	haciendan	partidonkuna
destinonman	haciendan	productonkunata
dian	idiomanchá	quejankunata
distriton	idiomanmanta	tortanta
dueñonqa	juramentonta	tumbankuna
ejemplonta	mamankunapas	vacanta
empleadon	mamankunapas	vacantataq
fiestanmi	parientenkunapas	ventananmanta
fiestanpi	parquenkuna	viandanta
fiestanpipas	partenmantaqa	vidancha
granonkunata		

Spanish loans + /-n/ 3rd s.pres. page 187

atienden	elegin	pasan
atienden	faltan	pasan
atienden	faltanchu	pasaña
caenmi	faltanmanchu	pesan
caentaqmi	favorecen	publican
celebran	informan	quedan
compañan	paganqa	sirven
consumen	parlan	valen
dificultan	pasan	venden
duran	pasan	venden
duran	pasan	venden

Spanish loans + /-na/ nominalizer page 189

admiranan	cuidananku /taq	parlanaypaq
amparonaykipaq	desinfectanaykupa-	repentenata
arreglanankupaq	entendenakunaykupaq	seguinapaq
atiendenay	entendenakuyku	tomanankupaq
cambianaykupaq	entreganay	tomanata
cobranapaq	estudiananpaq	viajanapapas
cobranayku	explicananpaq	viajanayku
cuidanallanpaq	igualana	visitananpaq

Spanish loans + /-n̄is/ possessive page 192

alumnonchiskunaqa	compadrenchismi	gobiernonchiswan
antepasadonchiskuna		

Spanish loans + /-n̄is/ verb page 192

arreglanchis	atendenchis
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Spanish loans + /-ni/ verb page 193

almorzani	gastani	pagani
amonestani	gastani	pagani
andani	jurani	pasani
asciendenitaq	leení	recomendani
empleani		

Spanish loans + /-ni/ connective page 194

almacenninpi	Diosninchis	omnibusninpi
amistadninkunapas	Diosninchis	particionninta
animalniykuna	Diosninchispa	patronniykunaq
autoridadninkuna	disposicionninkunata	profesorniykuna
bastonnintin	educacionniyoq	regionnintinpi
bastonninwan	enseresninkunata	seccionniyoq
baulniypi	horasninpi	situacionninkuta
calidadninman	jornalninkuta	situacionninpa
capitalninkupaq	obligacionninmi	situacionniy
cosasninkunata	obligacionniyki	testimonialninta
declaracionninta	ocupacionninga	traduccionninta
dificultadninku		

Spanish loans + /-nki/ verbpage 197

escapankiñachu	tardanki	valenkichu
jurankichu		

Spanish loans + /-nku/ possessive page 197

asuntankumanta	fiestanku	ovejankuta
contentonkupaq	gustonkupaq	ponchonkuta
creencianku	idiomankupi	suertenkucha
creenciankuman	mamanku	trabajonkuta
cultivonkupaq	mamankuchaga	vacankuta
estudionkupi		

Spanish loans + /-nku/ verb page 199

acostumbranku	entendenkuchu	preferinku
acostumbranku	entendenkuchu	quedanku
acostumbranku	escribinkupas	recitanku
arreglanku	explicanku	sentanku
arreglanku	festejanku	tendalanku
avanzanku	festejanku	tersanku
cambianku	fijanku	tomanku
cambianku	gananku	tomanku
cambianku	gananku	tomanku
carganku	gananku	tomanku
confesanku	gastanku	tomanku
consuminku	leenkupas	tomanku
cosechanku	limpianku	tomanku
cosechanku	ofrendanku	tomanku
cuidanku	paganku	usanku
dominankuraqchu	pasanku	vendenku
entendenkuchu		

Spanish loans + /-nta/ page 202

ladontapas	tardenta	tardentaqa
tardenta		

Index to the Corpus (viii)

Spanish loans + /-ntin/ page 203

asnontin	familiantinta	reatantinta
banderantin	monterantin	rejantin
cargantin	monterantinta	semanantin
cargantin	mundontinpi	semanantin
cervezantin	parejantin	semanantinpaq
cocinantin	pollerantinta	semanantinpaq

Spanish loans + /-ña/ page 205

antesña	diezña	mismonñachu
asnoñataq	ladoñan	pomposoñachu
curañataq	miercolestaña	ventañan

Spanish loans + /-pa/ possessive page 206

Carmenpa	Diospa	juezpa
Diospa	Galvezpa	leypa
Diospa	judicialpa	leypa

Spanish loans + /-paq/ page 207

agrariapaq	madrinapaqqa	procesionpaq
almuerzopaq	mesapaq	repollopaq
almuerzopaq	padrinopaq	riñonpaq
Asuntapaq	padrinopaq	talpaq
estadopaq	padrinopaqpas	ventapaq
faenapaq	padrinopaqqa	

Spanish loans + /-pas/ page 208

ahijadopas	gobiernopas	padrinopas
animalpas	gobiernopas	pobrepas
curapas	jaranapas	profesorapas
cuestionpas	madrinapas	profesorpas
formapas	padrinopas	vacapas

Spanish loans + /-pi/ page 210

abrilpi	caballopi	castellanopi
abrilpi	callepi	castellanopi
actapi	camalpi	castellanopi
agostopi	campopi	castellanopi
agostopi	campopi	castellanopi
agostopi	campopitaqmi	castellanopiñan
agostopi	cantidadespi	cercapi
agostopiqa	cargopi	chatopi
agriculturapi	carreterapi	cocinapi
andapi	carreterapi	colegiopi
apuropipas	carropi	colegiopi
arrozpi	carropi	compresionpi
asnopi	casopi	comunalpiqa
asnopi	casopiqa	consejopi
bandapi	castellanopi	costapi
bandapi	castellanopi	cuadernopi

Index to the Corpus (ix)

cuartopi	jardinpiqa	partepi
cuartopi	juliopi	paseopi
descansopi	juniopi	pitopi
despachopiqa	juzgadopi	pitopi
empleopi	ladopi	plantelpiqa
empleopi	ladopi	playapi
escuelapi	ladopi	playapi
escuelapi	ladopiqa	plazapi
escuelapi	ladopiqa	plazapi
escuelapi	ladopitaq	plazapi
escuelapipuni	lechonpi	plazapi
escuelapiqa	listapi	procesionpi
excursionpi	lomapi	puestopi
febreropi	matrimoniopi	puestopi
feriapi	mayopi	razonpi
fichapi	mesapi	razonpi
fiestapi	misapi	religionpi
fiestapi	molinopi	rezopi
fiestapiqa	mulapi	sanidadpipas
formapi	musicapi	semanapi
formapi	musicapi	semanapi
formapi	negociopi	setiembrepi
futbolpi	nocturnapi	sitiopi
gastopi	normalpi	supervisionpi
grandepi	nuevepitaqmi	tamborpi
haciendapi	octubrepi	tamborpi
haciendapi	octubrepi	tardepi
haciendapi	oficinapi	vencepi
haciendapi	oficinapi	vezpiqa
haciendapiqa	oficinapiqa	visperapi
haciendapiqa	oficinapiqa	visperapiqa
haciendapitaq	oficinapiqa	volcadapi
iglesiapi	orquestapi	voleipi
islapi	panteonpi	yugopitaqmi
jaranapi	partepi	

Spanish loans + /-pu/ page 221

cenapuyku	pasapun	quedapun
cosechapunku	pasapunku	rescatapunku
entregapun	pasapusqaku	salvapusqa
entregapun	pierdepun	vendipuwankiman
lotizapunku	prohibipun	vendepuykiman

Spanish loans + /-puni/ page 222

educacionpuni	ratopunitaq	siemprepuni
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Spanish loans + /-q/ agentive page 223

atendeq	comulgaq	masaq
auxiliaq	cuidaqa	organizaq
cambiaq	engañaqku	pagaq
cenaq	gastaq	pagaqku
cometeq	masaq	pagaqtapas

Index to the Corpus (x)

parlaq	paseaq	sufriqtachu
parlaqla	paseaqri	tomaq
pasaqtachu	pintaq	visitaq
paseaq	respira	visitaq

Spanish loans + /-q/ possessive page 225

alcaldeq	gobiernoq	plazaq
alcaldeq	gringoq	provinciaq
Asuntaq	madrinaq	señoraqpi
Calvarioq	Mirandaqta	vacaq
curaqpi	novioq	vacaq
curaqpi	ovejaq	vacaq
curaqta	padrinoqpipas	viajeroqkunaman
estadoq		

Spanish loans + /-qa/ page 228

antesqa	Diegoqa	padrinoqa
antesqa	directoraqa	padrinoqa
antesqa	galloqa	permiroqa
antesqa	genteqa	pisadaqa
asnoqa	idiomaqa	servidumbreqa
chicaqa	mayoriaqa	sinoqa
corralqa	mayormenteqa	sonsoqa
costumbreqa	negocioqa	tiempoqa
curaqa	ovejeraqa	tiempoqa
despuesqa	padrinoqa	vecesqa
Diegoqa		

Spanish loans + /-qti/ page 230

acceptaqtin	pasaqtin	volcaqtin
entendeqtin	sucedeqtin	

Spanish loans + /-raq/ page 231

gastoraqmi	peorraqtaqmi
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Spanish loans + /-ri/ page 232

mirarin	oyeriq
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Spanish loans + /-ra/ or /-rqa/ page 232

cambiarakuyku	obsequiaran	sufrirqani
castigaran	pagarqani	traduciran
cuidaran	pasarayku	venderan
cumplirani	pensaranku	venderanku
escribirayku	rascarapuspa	venderanku
nacerani	sufrirani	

Spanish loans + /-ru/ page 234

arrastrarusaq	deshacerunku	pasarukushayki
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Index to the Corpus (xi)

quitaruspanku
tardarusqaku

voltearusaq

sillarukuspanku

Spanish loans + /-sha/ page 235

administrashan
cumplishayku
escapashaykichu
mejorashan

partishan
pasashani
pensashani
pensashani

sequishani
servisharanitaq
vendeshanku
viajashaspa

Spanish loans + /-spa/ page 236

alistaspanku
amonestaspa
aprovechaspa
cenaspaga
cobraspa
controlaspa
cortaspanku

cuidaspa
gastaspa
gastaspa
gozaspa
invitaspa
invitaspa
parlaspa

rezaspa
respetaspa
servispalla
sufrispa
tendalaspanku
vendespa
vendespallapas

Spanish loan forms + /-sqa/ page 238

acompañasqa
acompañasqa
admirasqa
anotasqa
apurasqa
asfaltasqa
atrasasqa
autorizasqa
arreglasqata
cambiasqay
castigasqaraqtaq
colerasqa
controlasqa
controlasqata
creesqankuman

decepcionasqa
desesperasqa
desesperasqa
encargasqa
enjoyasqata
faltasqan
guiasqa
limpiasqachata
nacisqaymantapacha
ocupasqa
ocupasqa
organizasqa
pagasqa
pasasqa
pasasqa

plantasqa
producisqankupi
protegesqa
quedasqa
sucedesqa
tomasqanpi
trabajasqayta
traducisqa
usasqanku
vacunasqa
vendesqankuta
vestisqa
vestisqa

Spanish loans + /-ta/ page 242

abonota
abuelata
Adrilta
alacenata
alcaldeta
alcaldeta
almacigota
almanaqueta
almuerzota
altarta
altarta
alumnadota
animalta
añota
apelacionta
apoyota

aradota
arrozta
artificialesta
asnota
Asuntata
avionta
bandata
bandata
barbechota
basinicatachu
bastanteta
bastanteta
bastanteta
bastonta
becata
bendicionta

bendicionta
bendicionta
borregota
cacaota
cafeta
calorta
campota
cargota
cargota
cargota
cargota
cargota
carrota
castellanota
castellanota
castellanota

castellanota	fierrota	masta
castellanota	fiestata	masta
castellanota	fiestata	masta
castellanota	fiestata	masta
castellanotaqa	fiestata	mastachá
castellanotawan	fiestata	Mayota
castigota	fiestata	mediotapas
castigota	fiestata	mejorta
cebadata	folcloricata	mercadota
cebadata	folcloricota	mercadota
certificadota	formulariota	meriendata
cervezata	frazadata	meriendata
cervezata	frutata	miercolestaña
chicata	gallota	milagrotata
cigarrota	ganasta	milagrotata
cinturontaraq	gastota	milta
civilta	gastota	misata
claseta	gastota	misata
comercialta	genteta	misata
condenadota	gradata	monteta
constanciata	haciendata	musicata
corralta	haciendata	negociota
cosechata	haciendata	negratataqmi
cosechata	haciendata	nocheta
costumbreta	herramientata	nochetataqmi
cruzta	hondota	negociota
cuadrata	honorta	negociota
decimosta	horasta	normalta
decimostaraqmi	horasta	normalta
demograficota	horasta	notata
desayunota	hornaltachu	nueveta
descansota	huellata	ochentiochota
desgraneta	idiomatan	ochota
desordenta	impuestota	ovejata
detenidota	interesta	ovejata
diariota	islata	ovejata
diasta	jardinta	ovejatapapas
Diota	jueza	pagota
diplomata	jueza	palillotawan
divisionta	juramentota	pantalonta
Domingotataq	juzgadota	parteta
dostataqmi	ladota	pastorta
educacionta	ladotañataq	patota
ejerciciosta	ladotañataq	patriata
empleadota	lasota	pavota
empleadota	leccionta	pavota
enterota	legalidadta	platota
enterota	legaltachu	plazata
escriturata	llaveta	plazata
escuelata	lomata	plazata
espingotawan	luzta	pobreta
estacionta	manifestacionta	pocota
estandardteta	mañanata	poncheta
examenta	mañanata	ponchota
faenata	mañanata	primerata
fierrota	mañanata	primerota

primerota	selladota	tragota
primerta	silenciota	tragota
primerta	solta	tragota
primerta	solta	tragota
primerta	sonserasta	tragota
primertaqa	sonsotaqa	tragota
primertaqa	sumata	traicionta
purotachu	tantota	trigota
ratota	tantota	trigota
reatata	tareata	unata
rectota	tardeta	vacata
regalota	tardeta	vacata
rejata	tardeta	vacata
rejata	tardetaña	vacata
relacionta	terrenota	vacata
rellenota	testamentota	vacata
remediota	testamentota	vacatawan
restata	teta	varata
Salvadorota	tetaqa	verdeta
segaderata	tortata	vermut(h)ta
segundata		vestidota
		vidata
		yugota

Spanish loans + /-taq/ page

asnotaq	fiestataqmi	nitaq
ciertotaq	haciendataqmi	otaq
cosechataqcha	maestrotaq	padrinotaq
curataq	matrimoniotaq	primertaq
fetaq	misataqmi	

Spanish loans + transitionals page

atiendewaranku	educawayta	escapawanmanñachu
atiendewashanku	entendewankiña	gustawanmi
calificawan	entendewankuchu	pagasunki
castigasunkichisman	entiendewaqtinkutaq	sufriwankimanchu
contestawan	escapawankichu	vendeway
declarawanki		

Spanish loans + /-wan/ page

abonowan	Diegowan	padrinowan
agrariawan	fertilizantewan	palawan
aradowan	fierrowan	patronwan
arcowantaqmi	gallowan	pelotawan
balawan	gobiernowan	pitowan
caballowan	hachawan	produccionwan
cariñowan	lasowan	regalowanpuni
castellanowan	lasowan	sonsowan
castellanowan	limpiowan	sufrimientowan
chicawan	motivowan	sufrimientowan
condenadowan	motivowan	tamborwan
costumbrewan	movimientowan	trabajowan
cuchillowan	municipalwan	tragowan

vacawan
vacawan

vacawan

voluntadwan

Spanish loans + /-y/ possessive page

abuelay	maestroy	papay
abuelaypa	mamay	papay
amigay	mamay	papay
amigaykunawan	mamayta	papaykuna
amigaykunawan	mamaytapas	papayta
amigoy	mamitay	papaytaq
amigoykuna	mamitay	papaytaq
certificadoy	mamitay	papaytaq
colegioymanta	mamitay	papaytaqa
colegioypi	mamitay	papaywan
colegioypi	mamitay	papaywan
compañeraykuna	mamitay	papaywan
compañeraykunataq	mamitayman	problemay
correspondenciayta	mamitayman	señoray
cosechay	mamitaypas	señoray
escuelaymanta	mamitayta	señoraypas
escuelaypi	mamitayta	sueldoymanta
escuelaypi	mamitayta	tiay
escuelayta	mamitaytaq	tiay
familiaywan	mamitaytaq	tioy
fiestay	mamitaywan	viandaykunata
hacienday	mamitaywan	viday
haciendaymi	mamitaywan	viday
madrinay	noticiayqa	vidayta
madrinayqa	oficioyta	
madrinayqa	padrinoypas	
maestrays		

Spanish loans + /-y/ infinitive page

aguantayta	escribiyta	pagayta
cenayta	escribiyta	parlayta
contestayta	ganayta	reñiypaq
educayta	marcayta	rezaypiraq
engañayllawan		

Spanish loans + /-ya/ honorific page

aconsejajamuyki	tomayachispaña
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Spanish loans + /-ya/ regret page

ojalayá

Spanish loans + /-yki/ page

colegioykimanta	haciendayki	trabajoykipaq
colegioykipi	madrinaykiwan	vidayki
fiestayki		

Spanish loans + /-yku/ possessive page

abueloyku	compadreyku	escuelaykutapas
alojamientoykuman	cosechaykutaq	familiaykuchu
apoyoyku	escuelaykuman	maestrayku
camayku	escuelaykuta	profesoraykuman
camaykuman		

Spanish loans + /-yku/ verb page

acompañayku	controlayku	pasayku
almorzayku	cosechayku	pasayku
almuerzayku	cosechaykutaq	presentayku
atiendeyku	cosechaykutaq	presentaykuman
atendeyku	entendeyku	recogeyku
atendeyku	ganaykuchu	trabajayku
atendeyku	parlayku	vendeyku
cargayku	parlayku	visitayku
cobraykuchu		

Spanish loans + /-yoq/ page

becayoqta	cargoyoqtaq	padrinoyoq
cargoyoq	haciendayoq	precioyoq
cargoyoq	haciendayoqpa	profesorayoq
cargoyoqkuna	matrimonioyoqtaq	techoyoq
cargoyoqkuna	nacidoyoq	varayoqqa
cargoyoqkunaqa		

Spanish loans + /-yu/ honorific page

tomayunku

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-cha/

1. /-cha/, diminutive, familiar (see JL 85; EM 61, 148; GP 60; MY 55).

S loans found in conjunction with /-cha/ diminutive, familiar are free forms of the substantive and adjective classes.

S loans + /-cha/ + other Q suffix(es)

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| [əwlaˈçai]
(17) | <u>ABUELA-CHA-Y</u> ('grandmother' - dim. - 1st s. poss.)
<u>nirgan khaynata</u> 'My grandmother said it like this' |
| [əwlaˈçaimaŋ]
(17) | <u>... memitaytaq pasasqa wawata watayogta ABUELA-CHA-Y-MAN</u> ('grandmother' - dim. - 1st s. poss. - prop.) <u>sageykuspa</u> '... so my mother went, leaving the one-year-old child with my grandmother' |
| [alməˈça]
(50) | <u>... seguro ALMA-CHA</u> ('soul' - dim.) <u>kaq purishan animalman tukuspa nillankutag</u> '... they also say that the soul is wandering about in the shape of an animal' |
| [altoˈçapi]
(68) | <u>... ALTO-CHA-PI</u> ('upstairs' - dim. - loc.) <u>kimsa cuartokuna ... kashan</u> '... upstairs there are ... three rooms' |
| [əŋxelˈçakunata]
(19) | <u>Chay autoridadkunataqmi apanku ... angel voladorakunata ANGEL-CHA-KUNA-TA</u> ('angel' - dim. - pl. - obj.) <u>allin enjoyasqata</u> 'These authorities carry the flying angels, the nicely bejewelled little angels' |
| [animəlˈçakunata]
(27) | <u>... ANIMAL-CHA-KUNA-TA</u> ('animal' - dim. - pl. - obj.), <u>vacata, ovejata ... apemunku</u> '... they bring ... little animals, cows and sheep' |
| [asnɔˈça]
(77) | <u>Hinaspanmi ASNO-CHA</u> ('donkey' - dim.) <u>inválido ... quedapun</u> 'And so the little donkey remained ... useless (i.e. ill)' |
| [bultɔˈçaita]
(11) | <u>Chayqa ñogaga BULTO-CHA-Y-TA</u> ('bundle' - dim. - 1st s. poss. - obj.) <u>hap'iykuspa ripurani</u> 'Grabbing my little bundle, I went away' |
| [çikaˈçalatañaŋ]
(68) | <u>Papatapas CHICA-CHA-LLA-TA-ÑA-N</u> ('little' - dim. - lim. - obj. - 'now' aff.) <u>llank'ayunku golgemanta</u> 'They work very little now in potatoes in return for money' |
| [çikúˈça]
(85) | <u>Antes ñogaga CHICO-CHA</u> ('boy' - dim.) <u>... sufrido karani</u> 'Before when I was a little boy ... I suffered' |
| [çikuˈçakuna]
(78) | <u>Entonces sipipusqaku chaypi CHICO-CHA-KUNA-TA</u> ('boy' - dim. - pl. - obj.) <u>una ukhukuchakuna</u> 'Then the baby bears killed the children here' |

- [čìkučaimàntapâčə]
(23) CHICO-CHA-Y-MANTA-PACHA ('boy' - dim. - 1st s. poss. - 'from' - 'since') escuelayta chaypi tukurani 'Ever since I was a small boy I have done my schooling here'
- [djôsčə]
(77) ... allincha hamurunku, DIOS-CHA ('God' - dim.) apachimuran chaytaqa '... they came in good time, God had sent me this'
- [èskwelâčə]
(23) ESCUELA-CHA ('school' - dim.) kan llaqtamanta uraychapiraq sutiyoq Asnocancha 'There is a little school below the village called Asnocancha'
- [filúčə]
(13) Sapaqcha kan t'ipinapaq huj k'aspicha FILO-CHA ('blade' - dim.) 'Besides this, for the husking, there is a little sharp stick'
- [âčəčântiŋ]
(76) Sonsoqa seqayun q'epinta, hinaspas llant'aman HACHA-CHA-NTIN ('axe' - dim. - 'with') seqayun 'The idiot picks up his bundle, and then picks up his little axe to go for wood'
- [xùgetečəkunâta]
(27) Chaymantataq munay JUGUETE-CHA-KUNA-TA ('toy' - dim. - pl. - obj.) apamunku 'And then they bring nice little toys'
- [mònteračəkúna]
(8) Mana kay Calcapi hinachu, sino ankay umanpi mat'inpi hina MONTERA-CHA-KUNA ('hat' - dim. - pl.) 'They aren't like this in Calca, but they wear the hats well down on their foreheads'
- [nàtividâčə]
(22) Kunanga apapuychisyá Huaylla llaqtaman, mana chaypachaga Virgen NATIVIDAD-CHA ('Nativity' - dim.) castigasunkichisman 'Now take it to the village of Huaylla or the Virgin of the Nativity might punish you'
- [nègosjúčə]
(1) Chayna fiesta p'unchaykunallan NEGOCIO-CHA ('business' - dim.) kan regularcha, allincha 'Only during the days of the fiesta does my little business do quite well'
- [niñúčə]
(78) Ama NIÑO-CHA ('boy' - dim.) haykuychu chay llaqtamanga 'Little boy, don't come to this village'
- [òbsèkjòčântiŋ]
(19) ... imaymana ... OBSEQUIO-CHA-NTIN ('gift' - dim. - 'with') hampunku '... they come with many little presents'
- [òvexaçâiku]
(64) Después ... OVEJA-CHA-YKU ('sheep' - dim. - 1st pl. excl. poss.) kan 'Then there are our sheep'
- [pweblúčə]
(23) Chaypi antes PUEBLO-CHA ('village' - dim.) karan medio abandonada 'Before, the little village here was half deserted'
- [pweblučəkunâta]
(10) Calcamanta lloqsispa pasarayku kimsa PUEBLO-CHA -KUNA-TA ('village' - dim. - pl. - obj.) 'Leaving Calca, we passed three small villages'
- [řegulârčə]
(1) REGULAR-CHA ('quite good' - dim.): See [nègosjúčə] above.

[señor̥ăĉa]	<u>Kacharillaway, SEÑORA-CHA</u> ('lady' - dim. = 'miss'), <u>kacharillaway</u> 'Let me go, miss, let me go'
(74)	
[señor̥ăĉa]	<u>Pascua cargota ruwarani, SEÑORA-CHA</u> ('lady' - dim. = 'miss') 'I was in charge at Easter, miss'
(83)	
[sòmbrer̥učak̥ina]	<u>... munaychakunallaña karan SOMBRERO-CHA-KUNA</u> ('hat' - dim. - pl.) '... their little hats were so pretty'
(8)	
[tjèrnuĉakunaĭăta]	<u>Sullk'a chaykunata sageran nisiu TIERNO-CHA-KUNA</u> <u>-LLA-TA</u> ('young' - dim. - pl. - lim. - obj.) 'The youngest left them when they were too small'
(82)	
[tjuĉăi]	<u>Ay TIO-CHA-Y</u> ('uncle' - dim. - 1st s. poss.), <u>tío,</u> <u>compadremi wañurapusqa</u> 'Oh, uncle, uncle, my godfather has died'
(77)	

2. /-ĉa/, emphatic, intensifier (see EM 246; GP 60, 80; MY 55 — though his one example of /-ĉa/ with this meaning is classed together with the examples of /-ĉa/ diminutive). Both S loans found in conjunction with /-ĉa/ used in this sense are free forms of the adjective class.

S loans + /-ĉa/ + other Q suffix

[bwènaĉaĭăña]	<u>Maestraypas BUENA-CHA-LLA-ÑA</u> ('good' - emph. - lim. - 'now'), <u>yachachiwanku cuentokunata</u> 'Even my teacher is very good, and they teach me stories'
(57)	
[lìmpjōĉaĭăña]	<u>... aswan Punoqa huchuychallaña pero LIMPIO-CHA</u> <u>-LLA-NA</u> ('clean' - emph. - lim. - 'now') '... Puno is very small but very clean'
(53)	

3. /-ĉa/, conjectural. Always in final position, **stressed** (see YL 41; JL 85; EM 318; GP 83).

S loan + /-ĉa/

[òxalaĉă]	<u>OJALA-CHĂ</u> ('would that' - conj.) <u>kay costumbre</u> <u>wiñaypa wiñayninkama kausarinman ama hayk'aq</u> <u>wañuspa</u> 'May this custom live on for ever, never dying'
(30)	

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-çi/

/-çi/ causative (see YL 31; JL 117; EM 162-166; GP 67-68; MY 49). All S loans found in conjunction with /-çi/ are bound forms of the verb stem class.

S loans + /-çi/ ± other Q suffix(es)

- | | | |
|--------------------|------|--|
| [anotaçînankúpaç] | (36) | <u>Entonces chay gentekunaqa ANOTA-CHI-NA-NKU-PAQ</u> ('register' - caus. - nom. - 3rd pl. poss. - purp.)
<u>yachankuña</u> 'So now these people know they must be registered' |
| [kaðeçíspa] | (18) | <u>... anchayman huj fierrota CABE-CHI-SPA</u> ('fit' - caus. - simul.) '... making this metal fit well' |
| [kəmbjaçikúni] | (32) | <u>Chaymantaqa yapamanta CAMBIA-CHI-KU-NI</u> ('change' caus. - reflex. - 1st s. pres.) <u>núcleo escolarman Quiquijanapi</u> 'And then again I had myself transferred to a school centre in Quiquijana' |
| [kaşarâçin] | (14) | <u>... civil matrimoniotaq consejopi señor alcalde CASA-RA-CHI-N</u> ('marry' - ? - caus. - 3rd s. pres.) '... the mayor marries them in a civil ceremony in the town hall' |
| [kəmprenðiçîni] | (88) | <u>Chaymanta ... ñoga COMPRENDE-CHI-NI</u> ('understand' - caus. - 1st s. pres.) <u>juezta</u> 'And so ... I make the judge understand' |
| [kwidaçîwae] | (3) | <u>Así es que quinto año chicawan CUIDA-CHI-WA-Q</u> ('care' - caus. - trans. - agent.) <u>kanku</u> 'So they were in the care of a fifth-year girl' |
| [əntendiçikúni] | (43) | <u>Chayqa ñogaga rimani allinto runasimita, ENTENDE-CHI-KU-NI*</u> <u>runasimipi rimasqayta</u> 'So I speak good Quechua, I make myself understood by speaking Quechua' *('understand' - caus. - reflex. - 1st s. pres.) |
| [əntendiçinaîpaç] | (58) | <u>... sapa leccionta mana atin</u> (sic; correct Quechua would read <u>atinchu</u>) <u>ENTENDE-CHI-NA-Y-PAQ</u> ('understand' - caus. - nom. - 1st s. poss. - purp.) <u>llipin niñaskunata</u> '? ... she cannot make herself understood in any of the lessons with many of the girls' (The translation is tentative.) |
| [firmaçîni] | (88) | <u>Reclusokunata, analfabetokunata FIRMA-CHI-NI</u> ('sign' - caus. - 1st s. pres.) 'I get those who cannot get out, and those who cannot read, to sign' |
| [əbilitaçiŋanitaç] | (59) | <u>Chaymanta chay semana tukukuqtin yapamanta huj bandata HABILITA-CHI-LLA-NI-TAQ</u> ('provide' - caus. - lim. - 1st s. pres. - conn.) 'At the end of this week I again provide a band' |

[aɓilitaɕimúni] (59)	<u>Bueno, faenapaq ñoqa HABILITA-CHI-MU-NI</u> ('provide' - caus. - cisloc. - 1st s. pres.) <u>... sapa semana soqta runata</u> 'Well, I provide ... six men for the communal work every week'
[paɕaɕíkuŋ] (31)	<u>... chaytataq hatun juzgadoman PASA-CHI-KU-N</u> ('pass' - caus. - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) '... And he has this passed on to the chief tribunal'
[paɕaɕiŋɕis] (26)	<u>PASA-CHI-NCHIS</u> ('pass' - caus. - 1st pl. incl. pres.) <u>quejankunata según el caso policiaman</u> 'Depending on the case, we have his complaints passed on to the police'
[vèstiɕinaikútaɕ] (68)	<u>... imaymana mikhuchinayku, VESTI-CHI-NA-YKU-TAQ</u> ('clothe' - caus. - nom. - 1st pl. excl. pres. - conn.) '... we have to feed and clothe them all'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-ɕu/

1. /-ɕu/ interrogative (see YL 41; JL 136; EM 114, 328; GP 81-82; MY 66).

The S loan found in conjunction with /-ɕu/ interrogative is a free form of the substantive class.

S loan + /-ɕu/

[veráɕu] (71)	<u>¿Ah, de VERAS-CHU?</u> ('really' - interrog.) 'Oh, really?'
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2. /-ɕu/ negative (see YL 41; JL 136; EM 113-114, 326-327; GP 82; MY 66).

The S loan found in conjunction with /-ɕu/ negative is a free form of the adverb class.

S loan + /-ɕu/

[segurúɕu] (82)	<u>Qosaypas mana SEGURO-CHU</u> ('stable' - neg.) <u>karan, pantayñanpi puriran</u> 'Even my husband was unstable, he lived in error'
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SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-kama/

/-kama/, postposition or adverbial suffix glossed 'until, while, as far as, up to' (see YL 58-59, 61; JL 299; EM 128-129; GP 42-43; MY 61).

S loans found in conjunction with /-kama/ are free forms of the subjunctive class.

S loans + /-kama/ ± other Q suffix

[agòstokáma] (52)	<u>Duran hasta más o menos hasta iskay chunka p'unchay AGOSTO-KAMA</u> ('August' - 'until') 'It lasts more or less until the 20th of August'
[kòrpuskáma] (30)	<u>Chaypitaqmi hasta octava CORPUS-KAMA</u> ('Corpus' - 'until') <u>tiyaykun</u> 'And it just stays here until the eighth day of Corpus'
[pùntakáma] (30)	<u>Chunka tawayoq estacionmi Calca llaqtamanta pacha hasta orqoq mukukun PUNTA-KAMA</u> (<u>kasqan</u> ('pinnacle' - 'up to')) 'There are 14 halts between the village of Calca and the summit of the mountain pinnacle'
[pùntakáma] (30)	<u>Chayayku hasta orqoq PUNTA-KAMA</u> (see above) <u>mukukun kama, chaypi santa misa sumaqta mast'arikun</u> 'We go as far as the summit of the mountain pinnacle, and here the most holy mass is celebrated'
[primàrjakamáŕa] (82)	<u>... sullk'achakunata apenas tercer año PRIMARIA -KAMA-LLA</u> ('primary' - 'until' - lim.) <u>educayta atirani</u> '... I barely managed to educate the youngest as far as the third year of primary'
[tàrdikáma] (5)	<u>Sarata kuchunku tutaymanta hasta TARDE-KAMA</u> ('late' - 'until') 'They cut the maize from dusk until late'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-ku/

/-ku/, reflexive, passive (rare, perhaps influenced by S usage: see GP 71-72), or indicating involvement or self-interest (almost untranslatable). /-ku/ has two allomorphs:- (a) /-ka/ before /-mu/, /-pu/ or /-ka/, and (b) /-ku/ before all other Quechua suffixes. All S loans found in conjunction with /-ku/ or /-ka/ are bound forms of the verb stem class.

(a) S loans + /-ka/ + other Q suffix(es)

[kàmbjakamúni] (6)	<u>Wasiman rini chaymanta p'achayta CAMBIA-KA-MU -NI</u> ('change' - reflex. - cisloc. - 1st s. sing.) 'I go home and there I change my clothes'
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- [kambjakamúni]
(49) Qanqanta rini ... chuñuta, morayata CAMBIA-KA-MU-NI (see preceding) 'I go to Qanqan ... and barter chuñu and moraya' (2 types of dehydrated potato)
- [dedikakun]
(23) ... y runakunataqmi chaypi llapan, la mayoriaga DEDICA-KU-N ('dedicate' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) runasimi rimayman '... and all the people here, or the majority, are dedicated to speaking Quechua'
- [distrajikamwiku]
(87) Chaywan DISTRAE-KA-MU-YKU ('pass time' - reflex. - cisloc. - 1st pl. excl. pres.) 'We while away the time with that'
- [empleakapúsqa]
(78) Hujñataq EMPLEA-KA-PU-SQA ('employ' - reflex. - transloc. - narr.) ovejeraga curaqpi 'Then another worked as a shepherdess at the priest's'
- [eskapakapun]
(79) ESCAPA-KA-PU-N ('escape' - reflex. - transloc. - 3rd s. pres.) chayqa compañerokunaman willakamusqa 'When he had escaped he told his friends'
- [eskapakapusqaku]
(71) Pascual Diegowan ESCAPA-KA-PU-SQA-KU ('escape' - reflex. - transloc. - narr. - pl.) pasapusqaku 'Pascual and Diego escaped and went away'
- [eskapakapusqaku]
(79) Hinaspa ESCAPA-KA-PU-SQA-KU ('escape' - reflex. - transloc. - narr. - pl.) lliu suwakuna 'So all the robbers escaped'
- [gosaakamusúncis]
(79) Asnota nin: haku, haku yá haqay llaqta ladoman, chaypi GOZA-KA-MU-SUNCHIS ('enjoy' - reflex. - cisloc. - 1st pl. incl. fut.) 'He said to the donkey: come on, let's go to that village over there where we'll enjoy ourselves'
- [orjentakamunícu]
(62) ... mana ORIENTA-KA-MU-NI-CHU ('settle down' - reflex. - cisloc. - 1st s. pres. - neg.), machulaywan papaywan pusawaranku Ayaviri wichayman 'I didn't settle down, and with my grandfather and father they took me to the heights of Ayaviri'
- [paseakamúni]
(56) Días domingokunataqa rini plazata, PASEA-KA-MU-NI ('walk' - reflex. - cisloc. - 1st s. pres.) 'On Sundays I go out for a walk to the plaza'
- [kèakapwiku]
(61) Chay unumantañataq desesperasqa QUEDA-KA-PU-YKU ('stay' - reflex. - transloc. - 1st pl. excl. pres.) 'Now we were left in desperation because of the water'
- [řetirakapúni]
(88) ... nueva organización grupo kaqtin, RETIRA-KA-PU-NI ('retire' - reflex. - transloc. - 1st s. pres.) Cuzcoman '... When the new group was organized, I retired to Cuzco'
- [trasladaakamúni]
(62) Mana avenikuranichu Yanahuayllapi, chaymanta kunan Urco haciendaman TRASLADA-KA-MU-NI ('move' - reflex. - cisloc. - 1st s. pres.) 'I couldn't get on well in Yanahuaylla, so now I have moved to the Urco farm.'

- [tràsladakapúni]
(62) Yanahuayllapi llank'arani, kunanga Urcoman
TRASLADA-KA-PU-NI ('move' - reflex. - transloc. - 1st s. pres.) 'I used to work in Yanahuaylla, and now I have moved to Urco'
- [vestikamun]
(73) ... chaskiqa huj runa VESTI-KA-MU-N ('dress' - reflex. - cisloc. - 3rd s. pres.) '... this man dresses himself as a messenger'
- (b) S loans + /-ku/ + other Q suffix(es)
- [àlimentakunku]
(86) ALIMENTA-KU-NKU ('feed' - reflex. - 3rd pl. pres.)
haqaypi en su mayoría yucamanta ... arroz y fruta 'Most of them there live on manioc(?), rice and fruit'
- [alístakunku]
(16) Chay casarakuy p'unchaypaqmi lliu ALISTA-KU-NKU
('prepare' - reflex. - 3rd pl. pres.) 'Everything is prepared for the wedding day'
- [ampljaku]
(36) Anteriormente karan pusaq p'unchay, kunantaqmi
AMPLIA-KU-N ('extend' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.)
chunka pisqayoc p'unchaywan 'Before it was 8 days, but now it is extended to 15 days'
- [avènikuranîcu]
(62) Mana AVENI-KU-RA-NI-CHU ('get on well' - reflex. - past - 1st s. - neg.) Yanahuayllapi, chaymanta kunan Urco haciendaman trasladakamuni
'I couldn't get on well in Yanahuaylla, so now I have moved to the Urco farm'
- [bañakue]
(7) BAÑA-KU-Q ('bathe' - reflex. - agent.) rini sapa p'unchay 'I go and swim every day'
- [bañakwiku]
(46) ... calorta mana aguantayta atispa, BAÑA-KU-YKU
('bathe' - reflex. - 1st pl. excl. pres.) unupi, mayupi BAÑA-KU-YKU 'Unable to bear the heat, we bathed in the water, we hatched in the river'
- [bañakwita]
(46) Chay BAÑA-KU-Y-TA ('bathe' - reflex. - infin. - obj.) tukuspa, cenaq haykupuyku 'When we had finished bathing, we went to supper'
- [kambjakun]
(59) Hinaspa chay chunka hujniyoq watapi pasanña soqta o pisqa alcaldekuna, CAMBIA-KU-N ('change' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) 'Now in these 11 years we've had 6 or 5 mayors in succession'
- [kambjakúni]
(95) ... chaymanta p'achayta CAMBIA-KU-NI ('change' - reflex. - 1st s. pres.) limpiowan '... and then I change into clean clothes'
- [kambjakue]
(49) Kimsa asnopi rini CAMBIA-KU-Q ('change' - reflex. - agent.) 'I go and barter with three donkeys'
- [kasarakun]
(14) Llaqtapi runakuna CASA-RA-KU-N ('marry' - ? - reflex. - 3rd sing. pres.) kimsa padrinoyoq 'In the village people get married with three sponsors'

- [kàsaràkunapáqa]
(16) CASA-RA-KU-NA-PAQ-QA ('marry' - ? - reflex. - nom. - purp. - emph.) primertaga padrinokunata maskha-kamuna 'Sponsors must first be sought in order that they may marry'
- [kàsaràkue]
(16) ... tomayunku amistadninkunapas, parientenkunapas CASA-RA-KU-Q ('marry' - ? - reflex. - agent.) tayta mamankunapas '... both the friends and relations and the fathers and mothers of the married couple drink'
- [kàsaràkuekúna]
(16) ... señor curapas iglesiapi misapi wajyakamun CASA-RA-KU-Q-KUNA ('marry' - ? - reflex. - agent. - pl.) sutinta, imachus impedimento kan '... in the church at mass, the priest gives out the names of those who are to be married to ask if there is any impediment'
- [kàsaràkuekunapae]
(16) Hagay San Salvador ladopiqa acostumbranku ... saramanta pacha trigomanta ... lliu kausayta CASA-RA-KU-Q-KUNA-PAQ ('marry' - ? - reflex. - agent. - pl. - purpos.) ... habasman sagenku 'Over San Salvador way they have the custom ... of giving the married couple everything from maize and wheat ... to beans'
- [kàsaràkuráni]
(63) Anchaymantaqmi ... lloqsimurani llank'anaypaq, CASA-RA-KU-RA-NI ('marry' - ? - reflex. - past tense - 1st s.) huj warmiwan sutichasqa karan Emeteria Pujlla 'For many reasons ... I went away to work, and married this woman whose name was Emeteria Pujlla'
- [kàsaràkusqáku]
(15) Hace kimsa chunka pisqayoc wataña CASA-RA-KU-SQA-KU ('marry' - ? - reflex. - narr. - pl.) 'They were married 35 years ago'
- [kàsaràkùsqaimanta-
(81) páça]
... ñoqaga papataqa llank'ani CASA-RA-KU-SQA-Y-MANTAPACHA ('marry' - ? - reflex. - nom. - 1st. sing. poss. - 'since') '... I have worked in potatoes since I got married'
- [kàsaràkwi]
(16) Chay CASA-RA-KU-Y ('marry' - ? - reflex. - infin.) p'unchaypaqmi lliuta alistakunku 'Everything is prepared for the wedding day'
- [selebráku]
(36) Chayta hunt'aspa matrimonio civilta CELEBRA-KU-N ('celebrate' - reflex. - 3rd. s. pres.) 'When this is completed, the civil wedding is celebrated'
- [kobráku]
(86) ... impuestota cocamantapas, aguardiente caña-mantapas COBRA-KU-N ('charge' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) '... a tax is levied both on coca and on sugar cane alcohol'
- [kobráku]
(86) ... cocamantataq pisqa chunka pisqayoc soles arroba COBRA-KU-N ('charge' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) '... and so 55 soles is charged for an arroba of coca'

- [kobrâkunj]
(86) ... aguardiente cañamanta COBRA-KU-N ('levy' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) chunka tawayoq soles impuesto '... fourteen soles tax is levied on sugar-cane alcohol'
- [kòbrâkunâmpæ]
(31) ... pisi manukunata kay juzgadopi COBRA-KU-NA-N -PAQ ('charge' - reflex. - nom. - 3rd s. poss. - purp.) hasta pisqa waranqaq taripanankama '... in this court the repayment of few debts is demanded until they reach 5,000 soles'
- [kontrolâkun]
(86) Kay oficinapi CONTROLA-KU-N ('control' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) aguardiente caña lloqsimusgan 'In this office the export of sugar cane alcohol is controlled'
- [dedikâkun]
(23) Chay llaqtapi ... runakuna, llapan runa DEDICA -KU-N ('dedicate' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) agri-culturaman 'In this village the people, all the people, spend their time in agriculture'
- [defèndikúsqa]
(24) Chay razonpi cuchillowan DEFENDE-KU-SQA ('defend' - reflex. - narr.) 'For this reason he defended himself with a knife'
- [diferensjâkun]
(53) Puno Qosqomanta Punowanga DIFERENCIA-KU-N ('be different' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) aswan 'Puno is very different from Cuzco'
- [doxtòrakunaikipæ]
(92) Hinaspataqmi kay Calca llaqtapi munaywan allin ruwanaykita trabajoykuykunata DOCTORA-KU-NA-YKI -PAQ ('take doctorate' - reflex. - nom. - 2nd s. poss. - 'for') 'So in this village of Calca you will be doing all your work well for your doctorate'
- [educakú{æ}]
(11) ... chayqa maytapas ripusaq llank'aq golqewan EDUCA-KU-SAQ ('educate' - reflex. - 1st s. fut.) nocturnapi, nispa nini '... then I shall work somewhere and with the money I shall educate myself at night school, I said'
- [educâku{arânitæ}]
(66) Patriata servisharanitaq, EDUCA-KU-SHA-RA-NI-TAQ ('educate' - reflex. - contin. - past - 1st s. - conn.), golqeta ganayta yachasharanitaq 'I was serving the country, I was educating myself, I was learning how to earn money'
- [entendîkun]
(58) ... entonces mana ENTENDE-KU-N ('understand' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) 'so it isn't understood'
- [èntendikûni]
(42) Chayqa kaychakunata ruwachikushani, kayta ruwachikuni golqewan, wasiwan ENTENDE-KU-NI ('understand' - reflex. - 1st s. pres.) 'So I am having these little things made for me, I'm having them made for money, and I know how to deal with the house'
- [èskapâkûnku]
(8) Chaymantaga lloqsimunku tuta horasta ESCAPA-KU -NKU ('escape' - reflex. - 3rd pl. pres.) wasin-manta 'And then during the hours of the night they leave their homes and escape'

- [èskapaku]ásqa]
(79) Chayqa ESCAPA-KU-SHA-SQA ('escape' - reflex. - contin. - narr.) compañerokuna 'And so his companions escaped'
- [estudjakúni]
(58) ... normalta tawa wata ñoga ESTUDIA-KU-NI ('study' - reflex. - 1st s. pres.) Normal Superior Santa Rosaman '... I studied teacher-training for four years at the teacher training college of Santa Rosa'
- [èsplikaku]tínku]
(43) Chayta runasimipi EXPLICA-KU-QTI-NKU ('explain' - reflex. - conjunc. - 3rd pl. pres.) q'alata ñogayku entendeyku 'This is explained by them in Quechua and we understand everything'
- [esplikakwíman]
(43) ... imataña EXPLICA-KU-Y-MAN ('explain' - reflex. - infin. - cond.) chaypas runasimipiga willakuymanmi q'alata '... I can explain again anything I might say in Quechua'
- [fàltakuspáiku]
(40) ... mana FALTA-KU-SPA-YKU ('lack' - reflex. - simul. - 1st pl. excl. pres.) voluntadwan, cariñowan llapankutapas '... we are not lacking in good will and kindness towards all'
- [fèstexáku]
(14) Matrimonio tukuyta primer p'unchay noviokuna FESTEJA-KU-N ('celebrate' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) 'The bride and groom celebrate the whole of the first wedding day'
- [gànaku]áni]
(62) Allin qolqeta GANA-KU-SHA-NI ('earn' - reflex. - contin. - 1st s. pres.) kay haciendapi 'I am earning good money on this farm'
- [gustakúni]
(66) Pero ñogaga runasimitaga GUSTA-KU-NI ('like' - reflex. - 1st s. pres.) 'But I like Quechua'
- [ínklinakuspáiku]
(1) Ya q'ala llaqtantin chayman hatarimuyku, bendicionta sumaqta INCLINA-KU-SPA-YKU ('kneel' - reflex. - simul. - 1st pl. excl. pres.), chaskikuyku 'Now the entire village comes out and we kneel down and receive the wonderful blessing'
- [in]stáláku]
(86) Chaypi ... INSTALA-KU-N ('set up' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) huj oficina de Servicio Nacional de Comercio Agropecuario 'Here the National Service of Trade and Agriculture has been set up'
- [instruikúku]
(23) Chaypi escuelaipi ... wakin INSTRUI-KU-NKU ('instruct' - reflex. - 3rd pl. pres.) 'Here in school ... the rest are taught'
- [ínvitakulánta]
(14) Pagarisnintintaq hatun padrinokuna INVITA-KU-LIA-N-TAQ ('invite' - reflex. - lim. - 3rd s. pres. - conn.) almuerzo, tusunku, tomanku 'Throughout the next day the sponsors are offering lunch, and they dance and drink'
- [in]vitáku]
(14) ... noviokuna desde ponchemanta pacha ch'isiyag INVITA-KU-N ('invite' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) almuerzota, mikhunata '... in the afternoon

- the bride and groom offer everything, from punch to lunch and food'
- [masákuə]
(17) MASA-KU-Q ('make bread' - reflex. - agent.) kani 'I am a bread maker' (Initial a omitted from S amasar)
- [màtrikùlakusaəɾáəmi]
(66) Ñogapas chayman MATRICULA-KU-SAQ-RAQ-MI ('matriculate' - reflex. - 1st s. fut. - 'still' - aff.) porque mana ñogaga quechuataga del todo ch'uyata-punichu yachani (sic: correct Quechua would read yachanichu) 'So I am still going to matriculate because I still don't know Quechua that is completely pure'
- [nesèsitákuŋ]
(82) Tukuypaq NECESITA-KU-N ('need' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) educación 'For everything you need education'
- [ordenákuŋ]
(36) Chay certificadota chaskispa ruwakun huj partida de defunciones, chaymanta ORDENA-KU-N ('order' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) p'ampakunanpaq 'When this certificate is received the death certificate is made out, and the order for the burial is given'
- [pikákuə]
(46) Kaypi kan imaymana animalkuna, kan chaykuna PICA-KU-Q ('bite' - reflex. - agent.), hagay macha-gwaykuna PICA-KU-Q nispá 'There are all kinds of animals here, those that bite, and they say there are snakes that bite'
- [plantákuŋ]
(41) Cocata playapi PLANTA-KU-N ('plant' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) 'The coca is planted on the valley floor'
- [plantákuŋ]
(41) ... PLANTA-KU-N ('plant' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) mana sapaqchu qachapas nitaqmi sapaqchu coca yana, yana cocapas '... the "qacha" coca and the "yana" coca are not planted separately'
- [pòrfjakwíçu]
(77) Tiay amaña PORFIA-KU-Y-CHU! ('insist' - reflex. - imp. - neg.) 'Auntie, don't insist!'
- [preokùpakunkuñáçu]
(73) Chayqa mosoq noviokunaga manaña imapipas PREOCUPA-KU-NKU-NA-CHU ('worry' - reflex. - 3rd s. pl. - 'now' - neg.) por lo menos soqta killa 'So the newly-married couple doesn't have to worry about anything for at least six months!'
- [pròkreákuŋráiku]
(15) ... porque chayta prohibimunku al fin PROCREA-KU-NA-N-RAYKU ('breed' - reflex. - nom. - 3rd s. poss. - 'because') '... because in the end they forbid this there because of breeding'
- [pròdusikusqáŋta]
(86) Sapa semana riyku ... huj haciendaman producción controlaspa aguardiente caña PRODUCI-KU-SQA-N-TA ('produce' - reflex. - nom. - 3rd s. poss. - obj.) 'Every week we go ... to a farm to check production, checking the production of sugar alcohol'
- [kexákuə]
(26) ... sapa p'unchay hamunku kayman campesinokuna QUEJA-KU-Q ('complain' - reflex. - agent.) '...'

- every day the peasants come here to lodge their complaints'
- [kèxakuɬínku]
(88) Presokuna runasimimanta QUEJA-KU-QTI-NKU ('complain' - reflex. - conjunc. - 3rd pl. pres.) 'The prisoners complain about Quechua'
- [řeəlisákuŋ]
(73) Chay chaskiy ankhayna formapi REALIZA-KU-N ('take place' - reflex. - 3rd pl. pres.) 'This reception takes place like this'
- [řènegakúni]
(58) Anchaymanta ñoqa RENEKA-KU-NI ('get cross' - reflex. - 1st s. pres.) 'I get cross about a lot of things'
- [řeparákuə]
(47) Chayta ñoqa REPARA-KU-Q ('repair' - reflex. - agent.) kani 'I repair this'
- [resèntikunəŋkúpəə]
(40) ... mana paykuna RESENTI-KU-NA-NKU-PAQ ('resent' - reflex. - nom. - 3rd pl. poss. - purp.) '... so that they do not feel resentful'
- [səlvəkwiməŋpasčá]
(71) Chaypiqa SALVA-KU-Y-MAN-PAS-CHÁ ('save' - reflex. - infin. - cond. - 'even' - conj.) 'Perhaps you may be safe here'
- [sèrvikunəmpəə]
(16) Chayta mikhuychispa tomayachispaña valekuna padrinomanta SERVI-KU-NA-N-PAQ ('serve' - reflex. - nom. - 3rd s. poss. - purp.) 'Only when they have made them eat and drink these things do they request them to be sponsors'
- [sèrvikúŋ]
(1) Kunanga ch'ullallaña bandapas kashan, ch'ullallaña mamanchista SERVI-KU-SHA-N ('serve' - reflex. - contin. - 3rd. s. pres.) 'But now there is only one band which serves our Holy Mother'
- [suplikakúni]
(91) Hujqa warmita SUPLICA-KU-NI ('beg' - reflex. - 1st s. pres.) ... qowi apamunawanpaq 'I ask this woman ... to bring me ... guinea pigs'
- [sùplikəkuwəɬín]
(91) Wiraqochakuna SUPLICA-KU-WA-QTI-N ('beg' - reflex. - trans. - conjunc. - 3rd s. pres.) 'The gentlemen ask me for it'
- [trəbaxəkwiku]
(61) Tranquilolla TRABAJA-KU-YKU ('work' - reflex. - 1st pl. excl. pres.) kaypiqa 'We just work peacefully here'
- [trəbaxokuŋáni]
(61) ... allinta TRABAJA-KU-SHA-NI ('work' - reflex. - contin. - 1st s. pres.) kaypi 'I work well here'
- [trətákuŋ]
(58) ... llipin profesorakunata allinmi TRATA-KU-N ('treat' - refl. - 3rd s. pres.) allinmi kashani ñoqa kaypi '... all the teachers are nice to me, I am very happy here'
- [vəlikúna]
(16) Chayta mikhuyachispa tomayachispaña VALE-KU-NA ('request' - reflex. - nom.) padrinomanta servikunapag 'Only when they have made them eat and drink do they request them to be sponsors'

- [velákuŋ]
(57) Chaypi ... papay huj hatun cuartopi VELA-KU-N ('keep vigil' - reflex. - 3rd s. pres.) 'Here in this big room my father had vigil kept over him'
- [vendikúspə]
(17) ... masaq kani, t'antata VENDE-KU-SPA ('sell' - reflex. - simul.) mamitayman '... I used to make bread, selling bread to my mother'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-kuna/

/-kuna/, nominal pluralizer (see YL 27; JL 329; EM 58-60; GP 38-39; MY 59). The following list of S loans + /-kuna/ is subdivided into (A) pleonastic usage: S loan + S pluralizer + Q pluralizer /-kuna/ ± other Q suffix(es), and (B) simple usage: S loan + Q pluralizer /-kuna/ ± other Q suffix(es). S loans found in conjunction with /-kuna/ are free forms of the substantive class.

(A) S loans + S pluralizer + /-kuna/ ± Q suffix(es)

- [ànteseðeskunaqâcu]
(16) ... allin ANTECEDES-KUNA-QA-CHU ('past' - pl. - emph. - interrog.) kausayninpi ch'uva sumaq llaqtaq reqsisqan '... whether he has a good life record and the village knows all about him' (NB: The verb has here become confused with the noun, and a syllable is omitted — antecedentes)
- [àrtifi{jàleskúna]
(19) Chay vispera ... a las siete de la noxeta fuegos ARTIFICIALES-KUNA ('artificial' - pl.) t'oqan (reg. var. on t'oqyan) 'At 7 on this evening, the fireworks go off'
- [àrtifi{jàleskunâta]
(2) ... primera visperapiqa ... fuegos ARTIFICIALES-KUNA-TA ('artificial' - pl. - obj.) imaymana claseta ruwanku '... on the first evening ... they let off fireworks of all kinds'
- [kòmpañeraskúna]
(58) ... llipin COMPAÑERAS-KUNA ('companions' - pl.) mana atishan parlayta quechuata '... many of my companions cannot speak Quechua'
- [kosaskunâta]
(44) Chaymanta ñoga purispa lliu COSAS-KUNA-TA ('things' - pl. - obj.) yacharani sufrimientowan 'With moving about a lot I learned a lot of things through suffering'
- [kosaskunâta]
(73) ... procesionpi hina lliu COSAS-KUNA-TA ('things' - pl. - obj.) q'epinpuspa hampunku '... carrying many things, they come in procession'

- [kòsaskunáwan]
(22) ... tomasqanpi chinkapusqa runantin llipin llank'asqa COSAS-KUNA-WAN ('things' - pl. - 'with') '... while it was drinking, it disappeared, together with the man who was working and everything'
- [kòsaskunáwan]
(87) Chay COSAS-KUNA-WAN ('things' - pl. - 'with') cocinapi solo lliu huj warmiq waykunanpaq 'Just with these things every woman cooks in the kitchen'
- [domìngokunatáqa]
(56) Días DOMINGO-KUNA-TA-QA ('Sunday' - pl. - obj. - emph.) rini plazata, paseakamuni 'On Sundays I go out for a walk to the plaza' (NB: Here the pleonastic elements are separated, the -s being attached to día, and -kuna to domingo)
- [figùraskunata]
(55) ... chay cerámica mochica FIGURAS-KUNA-TA ('figurines' - pl. - obj.) venderanku '... they were selling these Mochica pottery figures'
- [lìbroskunata]
(7) Panaywan pujllamuni, ratota leemuni LIBROS-KUNA-TA ('books' - pl. - obj.) 'I play with my brother, and sometimes I read books'
- [niñaskunata]
(58) ... sapa leccionta mana atin (s i c : correct Quechua would read atinchu) entendechinaypaq llipin NINAS-KUNA-TA ('girls' - pl. - obj.) '... she cannot make herself understood in any of the lessons with many of the girls'
- [profesor̃kúnas]
(66) Entonces PROFESOR-KUNA-S ('teacher' - pl. + Spanish pleonastic -s) hamunku especialista kuna quechuapi 'Then teachers come who are specialists in Quechua'
- [řekrèj oskunálápi]
(6) RECREOS-KUNA-LLA-PI ('pastimes' - pl. - lim. - loc.) 'Just in recreation times'
- [řwìnaskunata]
(56) P'isagta riyku, RUINAS-KUNA-TA ('ruins' - pl. - obj.) qhawayamuyku 'We go to P'isag and see the ruins'
- [tařdeskunápi]
(6) Colegioypi TARDES-KUNA-PI ('afternoons' - pl. - loc.) ñoqa kani kimsa horasta 'I am at school for three hours in the afternoons'

(B) S loans + /-kuna/ ± Q suffix(es)

- [abogàdokunáman]
(88) Presokuna runasimimanta quejakuqtinku ñoga willani ABOGADO-KUNA-MAN ('lawyer' - pl. - prop.) asuntokumanta 'The prisoners complain about Quechua, and I inform the lawyers about their affairs'
- [abònokunata]
[abònokunáwan]
(81) Kaypiqa tarpuyku imaymana ABONO-KUNA-WAN ('fertiliser' - pl. - 'with'), kaypi churayku Insumus sutiyoq ABONO-KUNA-TA ('fertiliser' - pl. - obj.) 'Here we sow with many fertilisers, we put in fertilisers called Insumus'

- [adivinansakunata]
(57) ... yachachiwanku cuentokunata, ADIVINANZA-KUNA-TA ('riddle' - pl. - obj.) '... she teaches us stories and riddles'
- [adobekunata]
(42) ... chay ruwachinaypaq pensashani y ADOBE-KUNA-TA ('mud brick' - pl. - obj.) ruwachinaychá 'I'm thinking of having this done, and perhaps of having bricks made'
- [aixadokunapaq]
(16) Padrinoga ... huj p'unchayta apakun fiestata AHIJADO-KUNA-PAQ ('protégé' - pl. - purp.) 'The sponsor organizes the fiesta day for his protégés'
- [aixadokunapaq]
(16) ... año nuevo fiestakunapiqa AHIJADO-KUNA-QA ('protégé' - pl. - emph.) obligacionninmi kan padrinokunaman visitanampaq '... at the fiestas of the New Year the protégés are obliged to visit the sponsors'
- [aixadokunata]
(14) Padrinokuna imaymanapi yanapanan AHIJADO-KUNA-TA ('protégé' - pl. - obj.) imapas sucedeqtin 'The sponsors help the protégés in anything that may happen'
- [aixadokunata]
(16) Chayqa kuraq wawanta hina AHIJADO-KUNA-TA ('protégé' - pl. - obj.) munakun 'So he loves his protégés like his own eldest children'
- [alaxakunata]
(50) ... huj chay ñaupá runakuna usasqanku ALAJA-KUNA-TA ('jewels' - pl. - obj.), tupukunata '... now the people in the old days used jewellery and shawl pins'
- [alkaldekuná]
(28) Chay chunka hujniyoq watapi ... pasanña soqta o pisqa ALCALDE-KUNA ('mayor' - pl.) 'Now in these eleven years we've had six or five mayors'
- [almásigukunata]
(67) ... chay ALMACIGO-KUNA-TA ('nursery' - pl. - obj.) huj ladoman apaspa trasplantamuni 'Taking them elsewhere, I transplant these plant nurseries'
- [altarkunata]
(2) Lliu ALTAR-KUNA-TA ('altar' - pl. - obj.) paskapunku 'They take down all the altars'
- [alumnakuna]
(10) ... wakin ALUMNA-KUNA ('pupils' - pl.) chay viandanta mana tukusqankutaq (sic: not a correct negative construction), hornoman apachinku '... the rest of the pupils did not finish their food, and took it to the village oven'
- [alumnakuna]
(10) Chay paseoman ñoqayku rirayku yaqa tawa chunka pisqayoc ALUMNA-KUNA ('pupil' - pl.) 'We were about forty-five pupils that went on this outing'
- [alumnokuna]
(52) Askha ALUMNO-KUNA ('pupil' - pl.) por supuesto kan clasen ukhupi 'Of course many of the pupils are inside their classroom'
- [alumnokunata]
(52) Chaymi ñoga recomendani ALUMNO-KUNA-TA ('pupil' - pl. - obj.) wasinkupi rimanankupaq castellanota 'So I advise my pupils to speak Spanish at home'

- [añalfabètokunata]
(88) Reclusokunata, ANALFABETO-KUNA-TA ('illiterate' - pl. - obj.) firmachini 'I get those who cannot get out and those who cannot read to sign'
- [animalkuna]
(46) Kaypi kan imaymana ANIMAL-KUNA ('animal' - pl.) 'There are all kinds of animals here'
- [animalkuna]
(48) ... chayrayku kunanga empleadota maskhakuni, pastorta o sea ANIMAL-KUNA ('animal' - pl.) michiqta '... because of this I am now looking for a servant, as a shepherdess or herder of sheep'
- [animalkuna]
(50) Chay ANIMAL-KUNA ('animal' - pl.) malignokuna purin o waqan 'These animals or evil spirits wander about or lament'
- [ar̃kokunata]
(60) Pero kunan kay vezpiqa manan chay ARCO-KUNA-TA ('arch' - pl. - obj.) watapunkuchu 'But this time they haven't put up any of these arches'
- [ar̃kokunata]
(60) ... chay fiestataqmi ... sapa watanmi festejanku, sumaq ARCO-KUNA-TA ('arch' - pl. - obj.) wataspanku '... they celebrate this festival ... every year, and set up beautiful arches'
- [ar̃kerakuna]
(2) ... chayqa ARQUERA-KUNA ('arquera' - pl.) kay, chay altarta watanku '... and then there are the arqueras who set up the altar'
- [ar̃añkekunata]
(2) ... primera visperapiqa ... ARRANQUE-KUNA-TA ('rocket' - pl. - obj.) ... ruwanku '... on the first evening ... they let off ... rockets'
- [ar̃tesanokuna]
(52) Kay ARTESANO-KUNA ('craftsman' - pl.) apamun munay karpakunata 'These craftsmen bring attractive stalls'
- [asamblej akunata]
(33) Chaymanta sanidadpipas vacunakunamanta rimayku ASAMBLEA-KUNA-TA ('meeting' - pl. - obj.) q'ala 'So those of us in the health service too talk about vaccination in all the meetings'
- [asuntokuna]
(45) Bueno, runa hamun ASUNTO-KUNA-N ('affair' - pl. - 3rd s. poss.) qhawaq, tapuq 'Well, a person comes here to see to his affairs and make inquiries'
- [awtoridaçakuna]
(19) Hina huñukunku q'ala AUTORIDAD-KUNA ('authority' - pl.) 'So all the authorities gather together'
- [awtoridaçakunapas]
(40) Chaymi runapas, llaqta runapas, AUTORIDAD-KUNA-PAS ('authority' - pl. - 'both') ñogaykutaga sumaqa qhawariwanku 'So both the people of the village and the authorities look on us very favourably'
- [awtoridaçakunataqmi]
(19) Chay AUTORIDAD-KUNA-TAQ-MI ('authority' - pl. - conn. - aff.) spanku ... angel voladorakunata angelchakunata allin enjoyasqata 'These authorities carry the flying angels, the nicely jewelled little angels'

[<u>awxsiljarkúnae</u>] (34)	<u>Tapusqayki hina nishayki kunan supervisor</u> <u>AUXILIAR-KUNA-Q</u> ('auxiliary' - pl.-poss.) <u>ruwas-</u> <u>qanta</u> 'Now you were asking the auxiliary supervisors about their work'
[<u>bàilarinkúna</u>] (99)	<u>Imaymana ... BAILARIN-KUNA</u> ('dancer' - pl.) <u>chaypi kan</u> 'There are all kinds ... of dancers here'
[<u>bàilarinkunápas</u>] (99)	<u>Chaymanta chay BAILARIN-KUNA-PAS</u> ('dancer' - pl. 'also') <u>pasapunku</u> 'And then these dancers go past also'
[<u>bolivjanokunáta</u>] (53)	<u>Chay hinapi reqsikuni chaykunata BOLIVIANO-KUNA-</u> <u>-TA</u> ('Bolivian' - pl. - obj.) 'In this way I know these Bolivians'
[<u>kàbaɬokunápi</u>] (12)	<u>Hinaspatagmi CABALLO-KUNA-PI</u> ('horse' - pl. - loc.) <u>sillarukuspanku, aypaytakama aypanku</u> 'And then they saddle their horses and race over the distance'
[<u>kàbaɬukunáwaɲ</u>] (18)	<u>Caballowan saruchinku, askha CABALLO-KUNA-WAN</u> ('horse' - pl. - 'with'), <u>hasta lliu granokuna</u> <u>takakunmi</u> 'They have it trodden out with a horse, with lots of horses until a lot of grain has been beaten out'
[<u>kàɬdokunáta</u>] (95)	<u>Ruwanku CALDO-KUNA-TA</u> ('soup' - pl. - obj.) 'They make soups'
[<u>kàɬikúna</u>] (59)	<u>... ñoqa habilitachimuni ... soqta runata llaqta</u> <u>CALLE-KUNA</u> ('street' - pl.), <u>plazakuna pichanan-</u> <u>kupaɲ</u> '... I provide ... six men to sweep the streets of the village and the squares'
[<u>kàɬikunáta</u>] (33)	<u>... wakinpiqa ñañurapunku astawan CALLE-KUNA-TA</u> ('street' - pl. - obj.) '... everywhere else they even made the streets very narrow'
[<u>kàɬikunáta</u>] (53)	<u>Kaypi hina CALLE-KUNA-TA</u> ('street' - pl. - obj.) <u>basuralman tukuchinku</u> 'So here they let the streets end up as rubbish dumps'
[<u>kàmpesinokúna</u>] (20)	<u>CAMPESINO-KUNA</u> ('peasant' - pl.) <u>cafeta llank'-</u> <u>anku</u> 'The peasants produce coffee'
[<u>kàmpesinokúna</u>] (26)	<u>... sapa p'unchay hamunku kayman CAMPESINO-KUNA</u> ('peasant' - pl.) <u>quejakuɲ</u> '... every day the peasants come here to lodge their complaints'
[<u>kàntinakúna</u>] (1)	<u>... chaypi toldokuna ruwakun, chaypi CANTINA-</u> <u>-KUNA</u> ('bar' - pl.), <u>chaypi tukuy clase machaɲ</u> '... awnings are put up here, and bars, and there is every degree of drunkenness'
[<u>kàɣgokúna</u>] (27)	<u>Chaymanta CARGO-KUNA</u> ('responsibility' - pl.) <u>lloqsisqanta qhawarimunki</u> 'Then you begin to watch those in charge come out'
[<u>kàɣeterakúna</u>] (20)	<u>Chaymanta Quillabamba llaqtamanta CARRETERA-KUNA</u> ('road' - pl.) <u>lloqsin ... Potreroman, Sirialoman</u> 'So from the village of Quillabamba roads run out to ... Potrero and Sirialo'

- [kàsokunápi]
(89) Askha CASO-KUNA-PI ('case' - pl. - loc.) carcelman churani porque huchata confesanku 'In many cases I put them in prison because they confess their guilt'
- [seremònjakunáta]
(96) Hinaspa curaga lliu CEREMONIA-KUNA-TA ('ceremony' - pl. - obj.) celebran inti taytanpaq 'Then the priest performs many ceremonies to his father, the sun'
- [êikakúna]
(3) Llapachan CHICA-KUNA ('girl' - pl.) tusunku, takinku 'All the girls dance and sing'
- [êikakúna]
(3) Mana askharaqchu karanku, sino chicallanraq CHICA-KUNA ('girl' - pl.) 'There were not many, but still just a few girls'
- [êikakúna]
(13) Pampakunapi askha warmikuna, qharikuna, CHICA-KUNA ('girl' - pl.) hina tipimunku sarata 'In the fields many men, women and girls are husking corn'
- [êikakúna]
(52) Karmi CHICA-KUNA ('girl' - pl.) mana allinta dominankurachu castellanota 'There are girls who still haven't mastered Spanish well'
- [êic̣ạṛoṇkunáta]
(95) Chaymanta ruwanku CHICHARRON-KUNA-TA ('crackling' - pl. - obj.) khuchi aychamanta 'Then they make crackling out of pork'
- [êikokúna]
(52) Es que chay CHICO-KUNA ('boy' - pl.) punamantaga mana castellanota yachankuchu 'But the thing is these boys from the heights don't know Spanish'
- [êikokúna]
(52) ... hinaspañan runasimipi CHICO-KUNA ('boy' - pl.) entendeqtinñan '... and then the boys can understand it in Quechua'
- [êifḷeṛjakúna]
(99) ... imaymana mercaderiakuna, CHIFLERIA-KUNA ('goods' - pl.) chaypi kan '... there are all kinds of merchandise and goods here'
- [êistekunáta]
(46) ... chaypi camayku patapi tiyaspayku rimayku, CHISTE-KUNA-TA ('joke' - pl. - obj.) asiyku '... here we sit on our beds, talking and laughing at jokes'
- [êistekunáta]
(57) Amigaykunawan CHISTE-KUNA-TA ('joke' - pl. - obj.) ima rimaspayku, asikuyku 'My friends and I are always talking and laughing at jokes'
- [sig̣ạṛokunáta]
(57) Mamitayman askhata vermoutta, cervezata, CIGARO-KUNA-TA ('cigarette' - pl. - obj.) hap'iyachinku 'They made my mother take a lot of vermouth and beer and cigarettes'
- [ṣj̣ụạạṇokuṇankúpạ]
(34) Aparte de eso, chay paykunaga tayta mamakunata kikin ayllupi yachachinku ... allin CIUDADANO-KUNA-NKU-PAQ ('citizen' - pl. - 3rd pl. poss. - purp.) 'Apart from this these people teach the fathers and mothers from the same ayllus ... to be good citizens'

[klasekúna] (28)	<u>Chay jardin sapanga CLASE-KUNA</u> ('class' - pl.) <u>lliu hunt'asqa</u> 'In this one kindergarten the classes are very full'
[klàsikunápas] (28)	<u>... porque jardinpiqa lliupas manan allinraqchu</u> <u>CLASE-KUNA-PAS</u> ('class' - pl. - 'even') '... be- cause in the kindergarten, nothing functions, not even the classes'
[klàvokunáwan] (79)	<u>Huj wiraqochataqmi CLAVO-KUNA-WAN</u> ('nail' - pl. - 'with') <u>takamuwan</u> 'This gentleman stuck the nails into me'
[kwètekunáta] (2)	<u>... primera visperapiqa COHETE-KUNA-TA</u> ('rocket' - pl. - obj.) <u>... ruwanku</u> '... on the first evening they ... let off rockets'
[kolòrkúna] (27)	<u>Imaymana allin COLOR-KUNA</u> ('colour' - pl.) <u>pujllanakunata apamunku</u> 'They bring toys in all kinds of pretty colours'
[kòmpañerokúna] (79)	<u>Chayqa escapakushasqa COMPAÑERO-KUNA</u> ('companion' - pl.) 'And so his companions escaped'
[kòmpañerokunáman] (79)	<u>Escapakapun chayqa COMPAÑERO-KUNA-MAN</u> ('friend' - pl. - prop.) <u>willakamusqa</u> 'When he had escaped, he told his friends'
[kòmunidaakúna] (92)	<u>... lliu COMUNIDAD-KUNA</u> ('community' - pl.) <u>allin-</u> <u>ta gobiernowan uyarichikunankupaq</u> '... so that many communities may have the ear of the govern- ment'
[kòmunistakúna] (68)	<u>Reforma Agrariamantapacha imaymanata chay</u> <u>COMUNISTA-KUNA</u> ('communist' - pl.) <u>yachachipun</u> <u>runakunata</u> 'Since the Agrarian Reform, the communists are teaching the people'
[kònsəxalkúnae] (39)	<u>Castellanopi wiraqocha alcaldeq CONSEJAL-KUNA-Q</u> ('councillor' - pl. - poss.) <u>ima llank'asqanta</u> <u>willayki</u> 'I am telling you in Spanish about the work of the mayor and councillors'
[kòntribusj'ònkúnata] (86)	<u>Chay kimsantinkumanta controlayku kay cobranza</u> <u>CONTRIBUCION-KUNA-TA</u> ('tax' - pl. - obj.) 'Through these three, we control the levying of taxes'
[kòstàlkunápi] (18)	<u>... limpiasqachata chaytaña COSTAL-KUNA-PI</u> ('sack' - pl. - loc.) <u>huñupuspa cervezeriamanpas</u> <u>apamunki</u> '... once it is all clean, you gather it into sacks and take it to the brewery'
[krènsjakúna] (50)	<u>Ñoga kay Calca llaqtapi siempre kapuni huj</u> <u>CREENCIA-KUNA</u> ('belief' - pl.) <u>runakuna rimaynin-</u> <u>man hina</u> 'In this village of Calca I am a different person, according to what the people say'
[kristj'ənokunápae] (87)	<u>Chaymanta chayta milagrota ruwan ... Diosninchis</u> <u>... chay CRISTIANO-KUNA-PAQ</u> ('Christian' - pl. - prop.) 'Then God ... did this miracle ... for these Christians'

- [kwařtokúna]
(68) ... altochapi kimsa CUARTO-KUNA ('room' - pl.)
... kashan '... upstairs there are ... three rooms'
- [kwèntokunáta]
(57) Maestraypas buenachallaña, yachachiwanku CUENTO-KUNA-TA ('story' - pl. - obj.) 'Even my teacher is very good, and they teach me stories'
- [kwèntokunáta]
(57) Escuelaypi ... rimayku imakunatapás CUENTO-KUNA-TA ('story' - pl. - obj.) ima willanakuyku 'In school ... we talk about everything, we tell all kinds of stories'
- [kwèntokunáta]
(92) ... hinaspatag k'anchayniykiwan kutimuspa inglaterramanta ... sumaq parlakunawan, CUENTO-KUNA-TA ('story' - pl. - obj.) apamuspa '... you will return from England, bringing your light ... and these beautiful sayings and stories'
- [dànsakunáwaŋ]
(28) Lliu niñokunapas takikunawan, DANZA-KUNA-WAN ('dance' - pl. - 'with') ... yachasqanku 'And all the children learn ... by songs and dances'
- [denùnsjakunáta]
(89) Churamunku kayman DENUNCIA-KUNA-TA ('accusation' - pl. - obj.) 'They bring their accusations here'
- [deskànsokunálatáña]
(59) ... sinoqa DESCANSO-KUNA-LLA-TA-ÑA ('halt' - pl. - lim. - obj. - 'now') watanku '... but rather they are now setting up small altars'
- [difùntokunamantápas]
(50) ... chay DIFUNTO-KUNA-MANTA-PAS ('dead' - pl. - 'about' - 'even') caenmi ... chay creesqankuman hina '... they even fall into beliefs ... about the dead'
- [dìskokunáta]
(92) ... hinaspatag k'anchayniykiwan kutimuspa inglaterramanta ... DISCO-KUNA-TA ('record' - pl. - obj.) apamuspa '... you will return from England ... bringing records'
- [djuřnokúna]
(18) Chay tukuytataqmi tardenta DIURNO-KUNA ('daily' - pl.) saŋapunku 'The daily labourers rest at the end of the afternoon'
- [domìngokunápaq]
(15) DOMINGO-KUNA-PAQ ('Sunday' - pl. - purp.) ñaka-chinku kimsata, tawata vacakunata 'For Sundays they have three or four cows killed'
- [eskwèlakunápi]
(34) ... paykunaga riki yachachinku ESCUELA-KUNA-PI ('school' - pl. - loc.) maestrokunata ima '... they really teach the teachers in the schools'
- [èspañolkúna]
(45) ESPAÑOL-KUNA ('Spaniard' - pl.) conquistaman chayamuspa uyariranku 'qeswa' 'When the Spaniards arrived for the conquest, they heard "qeswa"'
- [èspañolkúna]
(45) ... entonces paykuna ESPAÑOL-KUNA ('Spaniard' - pl.) pensaranku idiomanchá 'qeswa', nispa niranku 'quechua' '... so perhaps these Spaniards thought their language was "qeswa", and they called it "Quechua"'

- [espàñolkúna]
(98) Chaymi kay Vilcanota puriqtin kaypi askha rumi-kuna quedasqa, hinaspa ESPAÑOL-KUNA ('Spaniard' - pl.) chayamuqtin Qallqata churapusqa 'So when the Vilcanota passed here, many stones were left, and then the Spaniards arrived and founded Qallqa'
- [espàñolkúna]
(98) Tiyay runakunan karan sutin Qhallqa, chayta ESPAÑOL-KUNA ('Spaniard' - pl.) traduciran 'Calca' 'The place where these people lived was called Qhallqa, and the Spaniards translated this into "Calca"'
- [espèsjalıştakúna]
(66) Entonces profesorkunas hamunku ESPECIALISTA-KUNA ('specialist' - pl.) quechuapi 'Then teachers come who are specialists in Quechua'
- [estàsjonkúna]
(30) Chay ESTACION-KUNA ('resting place' - pl.) rezaspa puririnan 'At these resting places he must begin with a prayer'
- [espeajèntekunataemi]
(31) Chay EXPEDIENTE-KUNA-TAQ-MI ('brief' - pl. - conn. - aff.) hatun juzgadoman pasan 'These briefs pass to the chief tribunal'
- [fàinakunata]
(12) ... chay varayocqa FAENA-KUNA-TA ('communal work' - pl. - obj.) ruwanan '... this mayor has to see to the communal work'
- [famìljakúna]
(55) Calcapi FAMILIA-KUNA ('family' - pl.) tiyanku 'The families live in Calca'
- [famìljakúna]
(72) Haqay ladopi acostumbranku q'ala FAMILIA-KUNA ('family' - pl.) fiestata t'inkanku wacakunata 'Over there every family has the custom of pouring out a libation on the cattle at the festival'
- [fjèstakunapíqa]
(16) ... año nuevo FIESTA-KUNA-PI-QA ('fiesta' - pl. - loc. - emph.) ahijadokunaga obligacionninmi kan padrinokunaman visitananpag '... at the fiestas of the New Year the protégés are obliged to visit the sponsors'
- [frutakúna]
(19) Imaymana hunt'asqa FRUTA-KUNA ('fruit' - pl.) muñecakuna 'Fruit and dolls are all piled up'
- [frutakunata]
(57) Chaypi FRUTA-KUNA-TA ('fruit' - pl. - obj.) p'achakunata rantikamuni 'I buy fruit and clothing here'
- [frutakunáwan]
(11) ... kaypi allin kashani, allin FRUTA-KUNA-WAN ('fruit' - pl. - 'with') gozaspa kashani 'I am well here, and enjoying myself with the good fruit'
- [fùndokunamánta]
(86) ... sapanga FUNDO-KUNA-MANTA ('farm' - pl. - 'from') cobranapag '... for the levy of each farm'
- [gàĩlokunata]
(12) Chaymantataqmi GALLO-KUNA-TA ('cock' - pl. - obj.) warkunku 'And then they hang up the cocks'

[ganaðèrjakúna] (20)	<u>Quillabambapiqa ... GANADERIA-KUNA</u> ('cattle' - pl.) <u>kashan iskay hawapiña</u> 'In Quillabamba ... there are cattle farms in two places'
[ganaðokunapa] (15)	<u>Chayqa kunanga poca ventaňan GANADO-KUNA-PAQ</u> ('cattle' - pl. - purp.) 'But now there is little sale for cattle'
[gastokúna] (83)	<u>Chaymi chay GASTO-KUNA</u> ('expense' - pl.) <u>ruwasqay señorita</u> 'So these are my expenses, miss'
[gastokunapi] (83)	<u>Chay gastota wasi GASTO-KUNA-PI</u> ('expense' - pl. - loc.) <u>lliu mikhusqankunapi</u> 'There are many expenses in food for the home'
[xèntekunáqa] (36)	<u>Entonces chay GENTE-KUNA-QA</u> ('people' - pl. - emph.) <u>anotachinankupaq yachankuña</u> 'So now these people know they must be registered'
[gobernaðòrkunáwan] (26)	<u>Pasachinchis quejakunata ... policiaman o en fin waqyachinchis GOBERNADOR-KUNA-WAN</u> ('governor' - pl. - 'with') 'We have the complaints passed on ... to the police or in the last resort we have the governors called'
[granokúna] (18)	<u>Caballowan saruchinku, askha caballokunawan, hasta lliu GRANO-KUNA</u> ('grain' - pl.) <u>takakunmi</u> 'They have it trodden out with a horse, with lots of horses, until a lot of grain has been beaten out'
[grìngokunápas] (55)	<u>Chayqa GRINGO-KUNA-PAS</u> ('foreigner' - pl. - 'even') <u>hamunku, Franciamanta, Estados Unidomantapas</u> (sic) 'Even foreigners come, from France and even from the U.S.'
[asenjdaðokúna] (67)	<u>... porque llapan HACENDADO-KUNA</u> ('farmer' - pl.) <u>manaraq llapan allpantachu qonku Reforma Agraria-paq</u> '... because not all the farmers have yet ceded all their land to the Agrarian Reform'
[asjenðàðokunata] (76)	<u>Hinaspa sonso mayuman wijchuyamusqa chay llapan HACENDADO-KUNA-TA</u> ('farmer' - pl. - obj.) 'Then the madman just threw all the farmers back into the river'
[asjenðakúna] (67)	<u>... chay HACIENDA-KUNA</u> ('farm' - pl.) <u>... chinka-pushanmi kay gobiernonchiswan</u> '... with our government ... these farms are disappearing'
[asjenðakúna] (67)	<u>... antesqa haciendallan karan, kunanga manaňan chay HACIENDA-KUNA</u> ('farm' - pl.) <u>kangañachu</u> '... before there used to be these farms, but now these farms won't exist'
[asjenðakunamanta] (15)	<u>HACIENDA-KUNA-MANTA</u> ('farm' - pl. - 'from') <u>rantimun vacakunata askhata</u> 'He buys a lot of cattle from the farms'
[asjenðakunamanta] (86)	<u>Sapa killa golqeta chaypi estadopaq golqechayku, HACIENDA-KUNA-MANTA</u> ('farm' - pl. - 'from') <u>cobra-spa</u> 'Every month we collect the money here for the state, charging the farms'

[asjèndakunápas] (15)	<u>Chayqa HACIENDA-KUNA-PAS</u> ('farm' - pl. - 'even') <u>vacakunayogpas pisitaña vendenku</u> 'So even the farms with cattle sell very little'
[impwèstokunáta] (20)	<u>... paganku IMPUESTO-KUNA-TA</u> ('tax' - pl. - obj.) <u>productokunamanta</u> '... they pay taxes on their products'
[impwèstokunáwan] (20)	<u>Anchay productokunawanmi IMPUESTO-KUNA-WAN</u> ('tax' - pl. - 'with') <u>kunanga llaqta wiñarishan</u> 'Now the town is beginning to grow with all these products and taxes'
[ìndjakunáqa] (95)	<u>INDIA-KUNA-QA</u> ('Indian' - pl. - emph.) <u>hamunku allin vestisqa</u> 'The Indian women come, well-dressed'
[inosèntekúna] (45)	<u>Chayqa INOCENTE-KUNA</u> ('innocent' - pl.) <u>carcelman haykun</u> 'So the innocent go to prison'
[injitàtokúna] (16)	<u>Chay mujuchayqa llipin INVITADO-KUNA</u> ('guest' - pl.) <u>riqtinmi hujmanta huj platota churanku mesa pataman</u> 'This sowing ceremony is when all the guests go again and put their plates on the table'
[xardìnkunáta] (28)	<u>... ñoga willashayki kayninpa killan Qosqota riyku visitaq JARDIN-KUNA-TA</u> ('kindergarten' - pl. - obj.) '... I will tell you how we went to Cuzco this month to visit the kindergartens'
[xwìj]okúna] (31)	<u>Chay ñutu JUICIO-KUNA</u> ('lawsuit' - pl.) <u>hasta pisqa waranga taripasqanpi allincha chayta atiyku</u> 'We can always arrange small lawsuits to the value of 5000 soles'
[leksjònkunatápas] (52)	<u>... chayraqmi castellanopi explicanku LECCION-KUNA-TA-PAS</u> ('lesson' - pl. - obj. - 'also') '... and only lately do they explain the lessons in Spanish'
[lètrakunatápas] (28)	<u>... hina lliu LETRA-KUNA-TA-PAS</u> ('letter' - pl. - obj. - 'even') <u>yachaspanku</u> '... in this way they even learn many of the letters'
[lìbrokunápas] (52)	<u>... porque mayormente LIBRO-KUNA-PAS</u> ('book' - pl. - 'even') <u>imaynapas ruwana kunanga castellanopi</u> '... because in general books and everything now have to be made in Spanish'
[lugàrkunápi] (47)	<u>Manataq chay LUGAR-KUNA-PI</u> ('place' - pl. - loc.) <u>cristiano kausayta yachankuchu</u> 'In those places they don't learn to live like Christians'
[lugàrkunatáqa] (11)	<u>... imaynataq kay LUGAR-KUNA-TA-QA</u> ('place' - pl. - obj. - emph.) <u>hamurani, sufriqtachu hamurani?</u> '... why have I come to these places, why have I come to suffer?'
[màistrokúna] (32)	<u>Lares waykopipas allin MAESTRO-KUNA</u> ('teacher' - pl.) <u>kan</u> 'Even in the Lares valley there are some good teachers'
[màistrokunáta] (34)	<u>... aparte de que paykunaqa riki yachachinku escuelakunapi MAESTRO-KUNA-TA</u> ('teacher' - pl. -

- obj.) ima '... besides, they really teach the teachers in the schools'
- [màlìgnokúna]
(50) Chay animalkuna MALIGNO-KUNA ('evil' - pl.) purin o wagan 'These animals or evil spirits wander about or lament'
- [màmakunáman]
(34) ... llipin tayta MAMA-KUNA-MAN ('mother' - pl. - prop.) rinku '... they go to all the fathers and mothers'
- [màmakunápas]
(66) ... quechuallapi tayta MAMA-KUNA-PAS ('mother' - pl. - 'both') rimanaykuta p'engakuwanku '... both the fathers and mothers feel shame at our speaking only in Quechua'
- [màmakunáta]
(34) Aparte de eso, chay paykunaga tayta MAMA-KUNA-TA ('mother' - pl. - obj.) kikin ayllupi yachachinku ... allin ciudadanokunankupaq 'Apart from this, these people teach the fathers and mothers from the same ayllus ... to be good citizens'
- [màkinakúna]
(63) Chayman hina lliu trabajokuna, lliu MAQUINA-KUNA ('machine' - pl.) 'So many jobs and machines (were provided) here'
- [màkinakunáwan]
(46) Chaypi muchasqa llank'amuyku MAQUINA-KUNA-WAN ('machine' - pl. - 'with'), palawan 'We worked nervously with the machines and spades'
- [matrimònjukunápi]
(73) Huj comunidad Chacabamba sutiyoq llank'arani, chaypin rikhurani kay costumbreta MATRIMONIO-KUNA-PI ('marriage' - pl. - loc.) 'I used to work in the community of Chacabamba, and there I witnessed these marriage ceremonies'
- [mèrkaderjakúna]
(99) ... imaymana MERCADERIA-KUNA ('merchandise' - pl.) ... chaypi kan '... there are ... all kinds of merchandise here'
- [mèrkaderjakunápas]
(99) Seqarunku lliu ... MERCADERIA-KUNA-PAS ('merchandise' - pl. - 'even') 'All the merchandise ... has gone up'
- [mwèblekunamánta]
(95) ... lliu allpata chaplichini (sic: correct Q would read challpuchini) MUEBLE-KUNA-MANTA ('furniture' - pl. - 'around') '...I sprinkle all the floors round the furniture'
- [mùñekakúna]
(19) Imaymana hunt'asqa frutakuna, MUÑECA-KUNA ('doll' - pl.) 'Fruit and dolls are all piled up'
- [niñakúna]
(58) Sapa NIÑA-KUNA ('girl' - pl.) allin hamun, ganas estudiananpaq 'All the girls come happily, eager to study'
- [niñakunapíqa]
(66) NIÑA-KUNA-PI-QA ('girl' - pl. - loc. - emph.) aswan peor 'With the girls it's much worse'
- [niñokunápas]
(28) Lliu NIÑO-KUNA-PAS ('child' - pl. - 'and') takikunawan, danzakunawan ... yachasqanku 'And all the children learn ... by songs and dances'

- [nòrteamerikanokúna] (27) Hamunku NORTEAMERICANO-KUNA ('American' - pl.) allinta chaytaqa munanku 'Americans come and enjoy it very much'
- [novènakúna] (30) Santa misa NOVENA-KUNA ('novena' - pl.) ima sumaqta qallarín 'The most holy mass and the novenas begin'
- [nòvjokúna] (14) ... NOVIO-KUNA ('married person' - pl.) desde ponchemanta pacha ch'isiyaq invitakun almuerzota, mikhunata '... in the afternoon the bride and groom offer everything, from punch to lunch and food'
- [nòvjokúna] (14) Matrimonia tukuyta primer p'unchay NOVIO-KUNA ('fiancé' - pl.) festejakun 'The bride and groom celebrate the whole of the first wedding day'
- [nòvjokúna] (73) Chaupipitaqmi rin NOVIO-KUNA ('fiancé' - pl.) 'The bride and groom walk in the middle'
- [nòvjokunáman] (14) ... chayqa regalota apachinan NOVIO-KUNA-MAN ('fiancé' - pl. - prop.) '... and then he has to take a present to the engaged couple'
- [nòvjokunáqa] (73) Chayqa mosoq NOVIO-KUNA-QA ('married person' - pl. - emph.) manaña imapipas preocupakunkufñachu por lo menos soqta killa 'So the newly-married couple doesn't have to worry about anything for at least six months'
- [nùmerokunatápas] (36) NUMERO-KUNA-TA-PAS ('number' - pl. - obj. - 'both') hujmanta hasta waranqakama ... informan 'And he informs us ... here of the numbers, from one up to one thousand'
- [obligàjjonkúna] (68) ... manaña OBLIGACION-KUNA ('obligation' - pl.) kanñachu '... now there are no obligations'
- [ofrèndakunáta] (16) Paykuna hamunku OFRENDA-KUNA-TA ('offering' - pl. - obj.) apamuspa taytanchis ruphaypaq 'They come, bringing offerings for our father, the sun'
- [ovèxakunápas] (85) Chaymantapaq vacakuna OVEJA-KUNA-PAS ('sheep' - pl. - 'both') q'ala yupasqa entreganay kaq 'And then I had to count both the cows and the sheep and hand them over'
- [ovèxakunáta] (83) ... vacata rantispa ñak'ani OVEJA-KUNA-TA ('sheep' - pl. - obj.) '... I sell cattle and sheep and slaughter them'
- [padrìnokúna] (14) Pagarisnintintaq hatun PADRINO-KUNA ('sponsor' - pl.) invitakullantaq almuerzo 'Throughout the next day the sponsors are offering lunch'
- [padrìnokúna] (14) PADRINO-KUNA ('sponsor' - pl.) imaymanapi yanapan ahijadokunata imapas sucedeqtin 'The sponsors help the protégés in anything that may happen'
- [padrìnokunáman] (16) ... año nuevo fiestakunapiga ahijadokunaga obligacionninmi kan PADRINO-KUNA-MAN ('sponsor' -

- pl. - prop.) visitananpaq '... at the fiestas of the New Year, the protégés are obliged to visit the sponsors'
- [padrìnokunâpas]
(16) Chay sumaq kausaypin kausanku allinta contento-kupaq ahijadupas PADRINO-KUNA-PAS ('sponsor' - pl. - 'and') 'Both the protégés and the sponsors live very happily and contentedly'
- [padrinokúnas]
(16) Chayqa recién kausay, kausayniyoqkunata PADRINO-KUNA-Q ('sponsor' - pl. - poss.) exemplonta qhawaripa sumaqta ch'uyuta kausanku 'Then they start living together happily, seeing the example of their sponsors' life'
- [padrìnokunâta]
(16) Casarakunapaqqa primertaga PADRINO-KUNA-TA ('sponsor' - pl. - obj.) maskhamuna 'Sponsors must first be sought in order that they may marry'
- [palâbrakunâqa]
(66) ... aunque wakin PALABRA-KUNA-QA ('word' - pl. - emph.) as mich'usqa castellanowan '... though some words are a little mixed with Spanish'
- [palâbrakunâtaqa]
(66) Wakin PALABRA-KUNA-TA-QA ('word' - pl. - obj. - emph.) escribiyta yachanitaqmi 'And so I know how to write some words'
- [papèlkunâta]
(36) Chaypaqmi PAPEL-KUNA-TA ('role' - pl. - obj.) ruwana 'So we must fulfil these roles'
- [pàrtekunâpíqa]
(50) Chaymantapas ... wakin PARTE-KUNA-PI-QA ('part' - pl. - loc. - emph.) ... usasqanku alajakunata, tupukunata 'Ever since then ... in many places ... they used jewellery and shawl pins'
- [patokúna]
(75) Hinaspa chay PATO-KUNA ('duck' - pl.), pavokuna kayushan 'And then there are these ducks and turkeys'
- [pavokúna]
(75) PAVO-KUNA ('turkey' - pl.):
see patokuna, above.
- [paskúnas]
(31) ... juzgado de PAZ-KUNA-Q ('peace' - pl. - poss.) regsinanpaq '... for its recognition by the peace tribunals'
- [pèñakunâpi]
(17) Chay wichay PEÑA-KUNA-PI ('rock' - pl. - loc.) tiyashaqtin anchaypi 'He often sat up there on these rocks'
- [persònakúna]
(39) Chaypin askha onqosqa PERSONA-KUNA ('person' - pl.) runakuna hamispa calliyan chay reumatismo-manta nisqa onqoy 'Many sick people come here and say they are cured of the disease of rheumatism'
- [persònakunâta]
(16) Chaypaqmi qhawana padrinopaq madrinapaqqa kuraq PERSONA-KUNA-TA ('person' - pl. - obj.) 'To choose the male sponsor and female sponsor you have to examine older people'
- [plâsakúna]
(59) ... ñoga habilitachimuni ... soqta runata llaqta callekuna, PLAZA-KUNA ('square' - pl.) pichanan-

- kupaq '... I provide ... six men to sweep the streets of the village and the squares'
- [presokúna]
(88) PRESO-KUNA ('prisoner' - pl.) runasimimanta queja-kugtinku 'The prisoners complain about Quechua'
- [problèmakunáta]
(56) ... tareata askhata chaymanta ch'isinpi ruwani, PROBLEMA-KUNA-TA ('problem' - pl. - obj.) ima '... and then I do lots of homework in the evening, and lots of problems'
- [prodùxtokúna]
(86) Chaytataq PRODUCTO-KUNA ('product' - pl.) arroz produccionwan kutichinku 'So production always corresponds to rice production'
- [prodùxtokunamánta]
(20) ... paganku impuestokunata PRODUCTO-KUNA-MANTA ('product' - pl. - 'for') '... they pay taxes on their products'
- [prodùxtokunáta]
(95) Calca llaqtapi sapa domingo rikukun imaymana runa lliu PRODUCTO-KUNA-TA ('product' - pl. - obj.) vendespa 'Every Sunday you see all kinds of people in the village of Calca, selling many things'
- [prodùxtokunawáñmi]
(20) Anchay PRODUCTO-KUNA-WAN-MI ('product' - pl. - 'with' - aff.) impuestokunawan kunanga llaqta wiñarishan 'Now the town is beginning to grow with all these products and taxes'
- [produxtòrkúna]
(86) ... askhata arrozta horqomunku sapanka PRODUCTOR-KUNA ('producer' - pl.) '... each producer harvests a lot of rice'
- [profesòrakúna]
(86) Pero gobierno kamachikamushan kunan mana huj PROFESORA-KUNA ('teacher' - pl.) ... mana quechua rimagga kanmanchu 'But the government is now ordering that there should be no women teachers ... who cannot speak Quechua'
- [profesòrakúna]
(84) Escuelaymanta rirani ... llipin compañeraykuna PROFESORA-KUNA ('teacher' - pl.) intiq llogsimusganta ... reqsiq 'I went from school ... and many of my friends and teachers to see ... the sunrise'
- [profesòrakunápas]
(10) Chaymantataq tawa hora pasagtin, urayampuyku, kasqan ñan llaqtataq, PROFESORA-KUNA-PAS ('teacher' - pl. - 'even') contento 'After four hours we came down the path to the village, and even the teachers were happy'
- [profesòrakunáta]
(58) ... llipin PROFESORA-KUNA-TA ('teacher' - pl. - obj.) allinmi tratakun, allinmi kashani ñoqa kaypi '... all the teachers are nice to me, I am very happy here'
- [profesòrkunamantáqa]
(66) Kay plantelpiqa mana pipas PROFESOR-KUNA-MANTA-QA ('teacher' - pl. - 'of' - emph.) mana quechua rimag kanchu 'In this school there is no teacher who is not a Quechua speaker'

[profesòrkunápas] (92)	<u>Chaymi PROFESOR-KUNA-PAS</u> ('teacher' - pl. - 'even') <u>kay sierra ladopiqa runasimitáqa allinta yacha-</u> <u>nanku</u> 'So even the teachers up here in the mountains have to speak Quechua well'
[pwèbìlokunamánta] (95)	<u>Lliu runa hamunku huj PUEBLO-KUNA-MANTA</u> ('vill- age' - pl. - 'from') <u>siemprepuni mikhunku</u> 'Many people always come from these villages just to eat'
[pwèbìlokunapíqa] (53)	<u>Chay PUEBLO-KUNA-PI-QA</u> ('village' - pl. - loc. - emph.) <u>aswan yanakuna, yana razamanta kanku</u> 'In these towns there are many dark people, people of the dark race'
[kexakúna] (26)	<u>QUEJA-KUNA</u> ('complaint' - pl.) <u>kan ... este ...</u> <u>mediante escritos</u> 'They are complaints made ... er ... by means of written statements'
[kèxakunáta] (26)	<u>Kaypi primer autoridad wiraqocha subprefecto,</u> <u>secretarionpa atendeyku QUEJA-KUNA-TA</u> ('com- plaint' - pl. - obj.) 'Here the first authority is the sub-prefect, and as his secretary we attend to all complaints'
[rèàtakunáqa] (77)	<u>Hinaspa kashantaq REATA-KUNA-QA</u> ('harness' - pl. - emph.) 'And then there are harness ropes'
[reklùsokunáta] (88)	<u>RECLUSO-KUNA-TA</u> ('recluse' - pl. - obj.), <u>analfabe-</u> <u>tokunata firmachini</u> 'I get those who cannot get out and those who cannot read to sign'
[rededòrkunáta] (10)	<u>Chaymantataq ñogayku saghra nina llipin ...</u> <u>llipin REDEDOR-KUNA-TA</u> ('surrounding' - pl. - obj.) <u>puriyku</u> 'Then we mischievously ... played hide and seek all around'
[rèxidòrkúnas] (12)	<u>Tusuyta kacharinku REGIDOR-KUNA-Q</u> ('councillor' - pl. - poss.) <u>wasinkunapi hasta tukukunankama</u> 'The councillors allow the dancing to go on in their houses until the end'
[ròpakunáta] (87)	<u>Rantispa apamuyku ñogayku haqaymanta ROPA-KUNA-</u> <u>-TA</u> ('clothes' - pl. - obj.), <u>ponchota, llijllata,</u> <u>frazadata</u> 'Having bought clothes, cloaks, shawls and blankets, we bring them back'
[santokúna] (1)	<u>... q'ala SANTO-KUNA SANTO-KUNA</u> ('saint' - pl.) <u>acompañasqa</u> '... accompanied by many, many saints'
[santokúna] (2)	<u>... chunka yaga chunka SANTO-KUNA</u> ('saint' - pl.) <u>andapi llogsimun</u> '... ten, about ten saints come out on litters'
[soldàdòkunáñan] (57)	<u>Mana familiaykuchu papaytaqa aparán, SOLDADO-</u> <u>-KUNA-LLA-N</u> ('soldier' - pl. - lim. - 3rd s. poss.) 'Our family did not bring my father, just his soldiers'
[soldàdòkunáwan] (57)	<u>Chaypi p'anpamunku coronel ... tropa SOLDADO-</u> <u>-KUNA-WAN</u> ('soldier' - pl. - 'with') 'A colonel and troop of soldiers ... buried him here'

[sùrkokunáta] (23)	<u>... tapanun chay SURCO-KUNA-TA</u> ('furrow' - pl. - obj.) '... and covers over these furrows'
[tenàsakunáwan] (79)	<u>Huj wiraqocha lliuta TENAZA-KUNA-WAN</u> ('pincer' - pl. - 'with') <u>rascamuwan</u> 'Then this gentleman scraped everything off me with pincers'
[testìgokunáta] (89)	<u>Chaymanta chaskillanitag kaypi runasimipi TESTIGO-KUNA-TA</u> ('witness' - pl. - obj.) 'And then I receive the evidence of this in Quechua'
[testìgokunátáqa] (89)	<u>Chaymi kaypi primerta chaskini TESTIGO-KUNA-TA-QA</u> ('witness' - pl. - obj. - emph.) <u>juramentota</u> 'So here I receive the first oath from the witnesses'
[tìmbrekunáta] (40)	<u>... cigarota vendeyku, papel selladota, TIMBRE-KUNA-TA</u> ('stamp' - pl. - obj.) <u>llipinman</u> '... we sell cigarettes, official paper and stamps to everyone'
[to]dokúna] (1)	<u>Hinaspa chaypi TOLDO-KUNA</u> ('awning' - pl.) <u>ruwakun</u> 'Awnings are put up here'
[tò]dokunápas] (60)	<u>Watamanta watamanta manaña kapuñachu TOLDO-KUNA-PAS</u> ('awning' - pl. - 'even') 'For years now there haven't even been awnings'
[trabaxadòrkúna] (38)	<u>Kunan wiraqocha TRABAJADOR-KUNA</u> ('worker' - pl.) <u>llank'ayta gallarischis</u> 'The boss and us workers begin work now'
[trabàxokúna] (63)	<u>Chayman hina lliu TRABAJO-KUNA</u> ('work' - pl.) <u>lliu maquinakuna</u> 'So many jobs and machines (were provided) here'
[truçakúna] (46)	<u>Chaymanta mayu pataman ghawayku, TRUCHA-KUNA</u> ('trout' - pl.) <u>kasqa, askha chaullakuna</u> 'Then we watched the big river and there were trout and many fish'
[tùmbakunáta] (98)	<u>Hinaspan TUMBA-KUNA-TA</u> ('grave' - pl. - obj.) <u>sagespan mayu chayamuqtin apasqa</u> 'Then he neglected the graves, and the river came and carried them away'
[wàkəkúna] (85)	<u>Chaymantatapaq VACA-KUNA</u> ('cow' - pl.) <u>... q'ala yupasqa entreganay kaq</u> 'And then I had to count the cows ... and hand them over'
[wàkəkunamanta] (15)	<u>Corralqa hunt'alla kashan VACA-KUNA-N-MANTA</u> ('cow' - pl. - 3rd s. poss. - 'of') 'But the enclosure is just full of his cows'
[wàkəkunáta] (15)	<u>Domingokunapaq ñakachinku kimsata, tawata VACA-KUNA-TA</u> ('cow' - pl. - obj.) 'For Sundays they have three or four cows killed'
[wàkəkunáta] (15)	<u>Haciendakunamanta rantimun VACA-KUNA-TA</u> ('cow' - pl. - obj.) <u>askhata</u> 'He buys a lot of cattle from the farms'
[wàkəkunáta] (72)	<u>Hagay ladopi acostumbranku ... t'inkanku VACA-KUNA-TA</u> ('cow' - pl. - obj.) 'Over there they

	have the custom ... of pouring out a libation on the cattle'
[vəkəkunayópas] (15)	<u>Chayqa haciendakunapas VACA-KUNA-YOQ-PAS</u> ('cow' - pl. - 'with' - 'even') <u>pisitaña vendenku</u> 'So even the farms with cattle sell very little'
[vəkùnəkunamanta] (33)	<u>Chaymanta sanidadpipas VACUNA-KUNA-MANTA</u> ('vaccination' - pl. - 'about') <u>rimayku</u> 'So those of us in the health service talk about vaccination'
[vesinokúna] (73)	<u>... lliu VECINO-KUNA</u> ('neighbour' - pl.) <u>arreglanku wasita, allin arreglasqata</u> '... many of the neighbours arrange the house, it is arranged well'
[vesinokúna] (73)	<u>Huj tukuruqtinkutaomi kaqta VECINO-KUNA</u> ('neighbour' - pl.) <u>q'epiyakapunku</u> 'The neighbours quickly finish, and load it all up'
[vesinokúnae] (73)	<u>Rinku ... warmiq taytanpa wasinta ... lliu VECINO-KUNA-Q</u> ('neighbour' - pl. - poss.) <u>acompañasqa</u> 'They go ... to the house of the father of the bride ... accompanied by many neighbours'
[ventànakunáta] (33)	<u>Hina perqakuna VENTANA-KUNA-TA</u> ('window' - pl. - obj.) <u>kichachiyku</u> 'So we have windows opened in the walls'
[vjaxèrokúna] (77)	<u>VIAJERO-KUNA</u> ('traveller' - pl.) <u>lliuta atogta wañuyachipunku</u> 'The travellers had all the foxes killed'
[vjaxèrokunáman] (77)	<u>Hinaspanmi asno seqachipun reatantinta atoonintinta VIAJERO-KUNA-MAN</u> ('traveller' - pl. - prop.) 'Then the donkey took the reins and the fox to the travellers'
[visitakúna] (99)	<u>Askha VISITA-KUNA</u> ('visitor' - pl.) <u>wasipi karen</u> 'There were lots of visitors in the house'
[voladòrakunáta] (19)	<u>Chay autoridadkunataomi apanku VOLADORA-KUNA-TA</u> ('flyer' - pl. - obj.), <u>ángel VOLADORA-KUNA-TA</u> 'These authorities carry the flying angels'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-ĩa/

/-ĩa/ limitative. In some contexts its meaning is difficult to define, indicating perhaps, in addition, a diminutive or familiar usage, which may be glossed 'even', 'really'. In final position, following an adjective or adverb, it may indicate a superlative (see YL 41; JL 558-559; EM 148-149, 213; GP 60, 73; MY 63-64). S loans found in conjunction with /-ĩa/ are bound and free forms of the substantive, adverb and

verb stem classes.

S loans + /-lla/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[çikaľánrae] (3)	<u>Mana askharaqchu karanku, sino CHICA-LLA-N-RAQ</u> ('few' - lim. - ? - 'still') <u>chicakuna</u> 'There were not many, but still just a few girls'
[çikaľaña] (99)	<u>Na CHICA-LLA-ÑA</u> ('few' - lim. - 'now') <u>gentega chaypi karan</u> 'Well, there were now only a few people there'
[konsulúla] (61)	<u>... huj imapas frutapas kashan CONSUELO-LLA</u> ('comfort' - lim.), <u>mana imapas pensión kanchu</u> '... even this fruit is some comfort, as there is no food provided'
[desayúnulátapas] (85)	<u>Chay ojalayá chaymanpas chay DESAYUNO-LLA-TA-PAS</u> ('breakfast' - lim. - obj. - 'even') <u>apariman-kunan</u> 'So I hope they may bring me at least my breakfast'
[dèspasjula] (13)	<u>Diario muchhanku chayñataqmi, DESPACIO-LLA</u> ('slow' - lim.) <u>muchhanku...mana:uechayllaachu avanzanku</u> 'They strip the cobs like this every day, they strip the cobs of maize very slowly, they don't get on very fast'
[eskwelalámáncu] (34)	<u>Paykunaga mana ESCUELA-LLA-MAN-CHU</u> ('school' - lim. - prop. - neg.) <u>rinku</u> 'These people don't go to school'
[gastulátæ] (83)	<u>Así es que hinapi cargota ruwayku kacharparipi huj GASTO-LLA-TAQ</u> ('expense' - lim. - conn.) 'So we organize the cargo and we have more expenditure for the farewell'
[asjendálan] (67)	<u>... antesqa HACIENDA-LLA-N</u> ('farm' - lim. - aff.) <u>karan</u> '... before there used to be these farms'
[ladoľáncpi] (71)	<u>... cuando de repente qhawariraqtinqa Diegoga ... na ... mayuq LADO-LLA-N-PI</u> ('edge' - lim. - 3rd s. poss. - loc.) <u>kashasqa</u> '... when suddenly Diego ... just caught sight of him ... by the edge of the river'
[maçetila] (46)	<u>MACHETE-LLA</u> ('knife' - lim.) <u>aysayusqa puriyku</u> 'We went about with our machetes carried behind'
[maçetilántinmi] (46)	<u>MACHETE-LLA-NTIN-MI</u> ('knife' - lim. - 'with' - aff.) <u>purinan nispa niwaqtinmi</u> 'He told me I should really go about with a machete'
[maistrulámáncu] (34)	<u>Mana MAESTRO-LLA-MAN-CHU</u> ('teacher' - lim. - prop. - neg.) <u>rinku</u> 'They just don't go to the teacher'
[montonlata] (18)	<u>Chayta churamunku MONTON-LLA-TA</u> ('pile' - lim. - obj.) 'They arrange these little piles'
[negòsjoláyoe] (15)	<u>Chay wasinkupi tiyanku iskayninkupas kashan NEGOCIO-LLA-YOQ</u> ('business' - lim. - 'with') 'So

- they live in their house, and just carry on their business'
- [paṣaḷaĩkútae]
(46) Mayutaq PASA-LLA-YKU-TAQ ('cross' - lim. - 1st pl. excl. pres. - conn.) 'And we just crossed the river'
- [paṣaḷaĩkutami]
(33) ... chaypi ñoqayku autoridadmantapas PASA-LLA-YKU-TAQ-MI ('pass' - lim. - 1st pl. excl. pres. - conn. - aff.) '... here we really pass even for authorities'
- [řatúḷa]
(49) Chayqa RATO-LLA ('moment' - lim.) cambiarakuyku 'Then we changed quickly'
- [řatúḷačá]
(71) RATO-LLA-CHÁ ('moment' - lim. - conj.) t'oqoru-kunki emparonaykipaq 'You can dig yourself in quickly to take refuge'
- [reḷatápas]
(42) ... icha kanmanchu medio huj REAL-LLA-TA-PAS ('real' - lim. - obj. - 'even') '... perhaps there is just half a real'
- [señorlára]
(2) Chayqa primer p'unchayqa SEÑOR-LLA-RAQ ('Lord' - lim. - 'still') lloqsimun 'Even on the first day, only the Lord still comes out'
- [sitjoḷapi]
(35) Hinakuna chay kimsantin qaga qhepapusqa kasaan SITIO-LLA-PI ('place' - lim. - loc.) 'So these three just remained as stones in that place'
- [solemniḷa]
(99) Chaymanta riyku procesionman, procesión SOLEMNE-LLA ('solemn' - superl.) 'And then we go to the procession, the very solemn procession'
- [sòleslanku]
(93) ... ch'ulla SOLES-LLA-NKU ('soles' - lim. - 3rd pl. poss.) kan '... there are just their soles'
- [soḷapiṇ]
(27) Pisqa SOL-LLA-PI-N ('sol' - lim. - loc. - aff.) vendepuykiman 'I would sell it to you for only five soles'
- [tjendaḷatápas]
(17) Sagenki ya kay TIENDA-LLA-TA-PAS ('shop' - lim. - obj. - 'even') 'You just left me this shop'
- [tranquilúḷa]
(61) TRANQUILO-LLA ('peaceful' - lim.) trabajakuyku kaypiqa 'We just work peacefully here'
- [ùltimolapíña]
(13) Chaymanta q'ellu sarata ULTIMO-LLA-PI-ÑA ('last' - lim. - loc. - 'now') 'Now just at the end (there is) the yellow maize'
- [velaḷapi]
(17) ... y todavía ñoga molinopi VELA-LLA-PI ('candle' - lim. - loc.) trigota kutachimuspa masaq kani '... and still I was a bread maker, grinding wheat at the mill, just by candlelight'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-man/

/-man/ propensitive, indicating direction to or into, or the indirect object (see YL 28; JL 618; EM 55, 233-234; GP 41; MY 62). S loans found in conjunction with /-man/ are free forms of the substantive and adjective classes.

S loans + /-man/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[əgrikulturəman] (23)	<u>Chay llaqtapi ... llapan runa dedicakun AGRICULTURA-MAN</u> ('agriculture' - prop.) 'In this village ... all the people spend their time in agriculture'
[altóman] (83)	<u>Hinapi wichachillaykutaq ... taytapas, tayta golqetapas Calvarioman ... chay AITO-MAN</u> ('high' - prop.) <u>cerroman</u> 'So we send the Lord ... the Lord made out of silver up to the Calvary ... that high mountain'
[andáman] (2)	<u>Hatun iglesiaman cargoyocqtaq Mamachata atienden, ANDA-MAN</u> ('litter' - prop.) <u>watachin</u> 'And the sponsor accompanies the Holy Mother to the big church, and secures her on the litter'
[animáľman] (50)	<u>... seguro almacha kaq purishan ANIMAL-MAN</u> ('animal' - prop.) <u>tukuspa nillankutaq</u> '... they also say that the soul is wandering about in the shape of an animal'
[bandáman] (83)	<u>Chay musicaman, BANDA-MAN</u> ('band' - prop.) <u>pagaa kani tantota</u> 'I used to pay so much for the music and the band'
[basuráľman] (53)	<u>Kaypi hina callekunata BASURAL-MAN</u> ('rubbish dump' - prop.) <u>tukuchinku</u> 'So here they let the streets end up as rubbish dumps'

- [bòlivjəmaŋ]
(53) Riyku yaga BOLIVIA-MAN ('Bolivia' - prop.) kama
'We went almost as far as Bolivia'
- [kaʃimaŋ]
(6) ... chaymanta diarieta leeni, CALLE-MAN ('street' - prop.) lloqsini '... and then I read the paper and go out into the street'
- [kəlvəʃjomaŋ]
(83) Hinapi wichachillaykutaq ... taytapas, tayta golgetapas CALVARIO-MAN ('Calvary' - prop.) ... chay altoman cerroman 'So we send the Lord ... the Lord made out of silver up to the Calvary ... that high mountain'
- [kaməʎmaŋ]
(15) Chaymantataqmi ichaga allin controlasqa apanku CAMAL-MAN ('abattoir' - prop.) 'And so perhaps they bring the properly-checked ones to the abattoir'
- [kaməʎmaŋ]
(15) Chayñan CAMAL-MAN ('slaughterhouse' - prop.) rin
'And now he goes to the abattoir'
- [karsəʎmaŋ]
(45) Kaypi ñoqaga juezta nini, carcelmanta lloqsinan-paq, o CARCEL-MAN ('prison' - prop.) haykunanpaq
'And so I tell the judge if he is to come out of prison or go into prison'
- [karsəʎmaŋ]
(45) Chayqa inocentekuna CARCEL-MAN ('prison' - prop.) haykun 'So the innocent go to prison'
- [karsəʎmaŋ]
(89) Askha casokunapi CARCEL-MAN ('prison' - prop.) churani, porque huchata confesanku 'In many cases I put them in prison because they confess their guilt'
- [kəreterəmaŋ]
(46) Bueno, chaypi kayku, CARRETERA-MAN ('road' - prop.) llank'aq riyku 'Well, there we were, we went to work on the road'
- [kəʃtelʎənoŋmaŋ]
(45) ... CASTELLANO-MAN ('Spanish' - prop.) traducisqa nin chayta "el idioma de los humanos" '... translated into Spanish, this means "the language of men"'
- [seʃəomaŋ]
(83) Hinapi wichachillaykutaq ... taytapas, tayta golgetapas Calvarioman ... chay altoman CERRO-MAN ('mountain' - prop.) 'So we send the Lord ... the Lord made out of silver up to the Calvary ... that high mountain'
- [seʃvesəʃjəmaŋpas]
(18) ... chaytaña costalkunapi huñupuspa, CERVEZERIA-MAN-PAS ('brewery' - prop. - 'and') apamunki
'... you gather it into sacks, and take it to the brewery'
- [sinəmaŋ]
(57) Mayninpiqa ñañachay hamuqtin, CINE-MAN ('cinema' - prop.) haykuyku 'Every now and then my little sister comes and we go to the cinema'
- [koləxjəmaŋəu]
(6) Chaymanta imata ruwanki COLEGIO-MAN-CHU ('school' - prop. - interrog.) rinki? 'And then what do you do when you go to school?'

[kolèxyómami]

(6)

Chaymanta COLEGIO-MAN-MI ('school' - prop. - aff.)
rini 'And then I go to school'

[kòŋkištáman]

(45)

Españolkuna CONQUISTA-MAN ('conquest' - prop.)
chayamuspa uvariranku "geswa" 'When the Spaniards arrived for the conquest, they heard "geswa"'

[kòŋsexóman]

(36)

Chaykunata hunt'aspa apanku CONSEJO-MAN ('municipality' - prop.) 'They fill these in and bring them to the municipality'

[krúsman]

(75)

Pero astawanmi ... mirarin kay santa devoción santísima CRUZ-MAN ('cross' - prop.) 'But they just see ... increasing holy devotion to the most holy cross'

[kwařtóman]

(71)

Diegoqa apan haykun chaykagta CUARTO-MAN ('room' - prop.) 'Diego arrived, bringing in into the room'

[kwevámam]

(77)

Huj atog nin: ay, mana kaytaga imaynatapas atisunmanchu CUEVA-MAN ('cave' - prop.) haykuchitaga 'The fox said: Oh, I cannot help him get to the cave anyhow'

[kurámam]

(83)

Pagani yaga iskay pacha másta CURA-MAN ('priest' - prop.) 'I pay up to almost 200 more to the priest'

[kùramámpas]

(83)

Chay cargo ruwasqaymanta CURA-MAN-PAS ('priest' - prop. - 'even') pagani tantota 'Because of sponsoring this, I pay even the priest so much'

[ènteróman]

(2)

Chay qachipunku ENTERO-MAN ('complete' - prop.) 'They scrape this out completely'

[èskolármam]

(32)

Chaymantaga yapamanta cambiachikuni núcleo ESCOLAR-MAN ('school' - prop.) Quiquijana 'And then again, I had myself transferred to a school centre in Quiquijana'

[èskwelámam]

(23)

Chay ESCUELA-MAN ('school' - prop.) ripunku warmi qhari, mixto 'They go off to school, boys and girls, mixed'

[èskwelámam]

(52)

... hinaspa manaña dificultadninku kankachu ESCUELA-MAN ('school' - prop.) '... and so they have no difficulty at school'

[èskwelámam]

(78)

Chay curañataq ESCUELA-MAN ('school' - prop.) churasqa, escuelapiqa uña ukukuchata 'And now the priest sent him to school, sent the baby bear to school'

[èstasjónman]

(20)

Chay Chaulay carretera ESTACION-MAN ('station' - prop.) chayamuspa t'agarikullantaq hasta Qosookama hamun 'This Chaulay road, when it divides at the station, goes as far as Cuzco'

[èstasjónman]

(7)

... andani chinpa Calcaman, ESTADIO-MAN ('stadium' - prop.) '... I walk to the other side of Calca, to the stadium'

- [fjɛstaman]
(55) Kunan llapanchis rirayku FIESTA-MAN ('fiesta' - prop.) 'Then we all went to the fiesta'
- [fjɛstaman]
(87) Huancata kay FIESTA-MAN ('fiesta' - prop.) ñogayku riyku 'We go to this Huanca fiesta'
- [fjɛstaman]
(99) Rirani Urquillosta FIESTA-MAN ('fiesta' - prop.) carropi 'I went to the fiesta in Urquillos by car'
- [xabəsmən]
(16) Haqay San Salvador ladopiga acostumbranku saramanta pacha trigomanta ... HABAS-MAN ('beans' - prop.) ... saganu 'Over by San Salvador they have the custom of giving ... everything from maize and wheat ... to beans'
- [əsɛndaman]
(46) HACIENDA-MAN ('farm' - prop.) hujmanta chayamuyku semanamanta 'So we arrived at the farm again after a week'
- [əsɛndaman]
(46) Chaymantaga ... chayayku HACIENDA-MAN ('farm' - prop.) 'And then ... we arrived at the farm'
- [əsɛndaman]
(47) Chayrayku hinata sagerparispa hampuni kay misión HACIENDA-MAN ('farm' - prop.) 'Because of this I left suddenly and came to this mission farm'
- [əsɛndaman]
(62) ... chaymanta kunan Urco HACIENDA-MAN ('farm' - prop.) trasladakapuni 'So now I have moved to the Urco farm'
- [əsɛndaman]
(72) ... llipin alqontin ima urayamunku chay HACIENDA-MAN ('farm' - prop.) '... they come down with all the dogs to this farm'
- [əsɛndaman]
(81) HACIENDA-MAN ('farm' - prop.) rini chaypin yachani papa tarpuyta 'I went to the farm and there I learned the cultivation of potatoes'
- [əsɛndaman]
(86) Sapa semana riyku haciendamanta, huj HACIENDA-MAN ('farm' - prop.) ... producción controlaspa 'Every week we go and see about the farms, checking a farm, checking its production'
- [əsɛndamanqa]
(64) Haykumurani ... kay hacienda Urco HACIENDA-MAN-QA ('farm' - prop. - emph.) 'I came to ... the farm, to this farm of Urco'
- [ornoman]
(10) ... wakin alumnakuna chay viandanta mana tukusqankutaq (sic, not a correct negative construction) HORNO-MAN ('oven' - prop.) apachinku '... the rest of the pupils did not finish their food, and took it to the village oven'
- [ɪglejaman]
(2) Hatun IGLESIA-MAN ('church' - prop.) cargoyoqtaq Mamachata atienden 'And the sponsor accompanies the Holy Mother to the big church'
- [ɪglesjaman]
(16) Padrinoga sayayun IGLESIA-MAN ('church' - prop.) pusayunanpaq 'The sponsor stands up to take him to the church'

- [iglesjəman]
(19) Llaqtantinta muyuspa kaq kutiyapun IGLESIA-MAN ('church' - prop.) Mamachaga 'After going round the whole village, the Virgin returns to the church'
- [xərdinməpas]
(28) Hinaspa chaymanta kunan kay JARDIN-MAN-PAS ('kindergarten' - prop. - 'also') ... chaykunata ... ñoqayku ruwasakuna 'So because of this we shall now carry out ... all these things ... in the kindergarten'
- [xusgaðoman]
(31) Chay expedientekunataqmi hatun JUZGADO-MAN ('tribunal' - prop.) pasan 'These briefs pass to the chief tribunal'
- [kilometrəman]
(39) Kaymanta huj kimsa KILOMETRO-MAN ('kilometre' - prop.) hinan chay Calca parcialidad sutin distancia 'So from a distance of three kilometres, this part is called Calca'
- [laðuman]
(13) Khaynata muchhanku kay LADO-MAN ('side' - prop.) muchhanku 'So they husk the cobs, they husk them over there'
- [laðuman]
(20) Chay urbanización quedan Masapata LADO-MAN ('side' - prop.) 'This urbanization is over by Masapata'
- [laðuman]
(32) Chaymantaga kutimpullanitay kay P'isay LADO-MAN ('side' - prop.) 'So because of this I went back P'isay way'
- [laðuman]
(67) Chay almacigokunata huj LADO-MAN ('side' - prop.) apaspa trasplantamuni 'Taking them elsewhere, I transplant these plantations'
- [laðuman]
(79) ... haku haku ya haqay llaqta LADO-MAN ('side' - prop.), chaypi gozakemusunchis 'Come on, let's go to that village over there, where we'll enjoy ourselves'
- [léiman]
(31) ... pisipisimanta modificación nisqata LEY-MAN ('law' - prop.) churasqata '... little by little there have been modifications to the law'
- [majstrəman]
(85) ... chaymantatay MAESTRO-MAN ('master' - prop.) asciendenitay '... and then I advanced to being master'
- [medikəman]
(36) Chaypaqpas huj llank'aqmi huj formulariota chaywan rinku posta MEDICA-MAN ('medical' - prop.) 'To do this the workers go with this form to the medical post'
- [medikəman]
(88) ... onqoqtinku MEDICO-MAN ('doctor' - prop.) willanay, hanpiq hamunanpaq '... I tell the doctor about those who are sick, for the medicine man to come'
- [meřkaðoman]
(75) ... huj payota hap'iruspa chayta MERCADO-MAN ('market' - prop.) aparusaq, nispa nin '... when I have caught this turkey I will take it to the market, he said'

[mesáman] (46)	<u>MESA-MAN</u> ('table' - prop.) <u>tiyavuyku</u> 'We sit at table'
[misáman] (57)	<u>Domingotataq MISA-MAN</u> ('mass' - prop.) <u>rini</u> 'And on Sunday I go to mass'
[misáman] (99)	<u>Chay haciendamanta lloqsimuyku MISA-MAN</u> ('mass' - prop.) 'We leave this farm to go to mass'
[mùsikáman] (83)	<u>Chay MUSICA-MAN</u> ('music' - prop.) <u>bandaman pagaa kani tantota</u> 'I used to pay so much for the music and the band'
[novjáman] (73)	<u>Chayqa entregapun imaymana enseresninkunata ... NOVIA-MAN</u> ('bride' - prop.) 'And then he hands over all kinds of goods and chattels to the bride'
[òfisínáman] (26)	<u>... o en fin waqyachinchis gobernadorkunawan kay OFICINA-MAN</u> ('office' - prop.) '... or in the last resort we have the governors called to this office'
[òfisínáman] (32)	<u>Chaymanta kay OFICINA-MAN</u> ('office' - prop.) <u>hampuni llank'aa</u> 'And then I came to this office to work'
[omnibúman] (10)	<u>Las cinco chayamugtintaq llipiyku OMNIBUS-MAN</u> ('bus' - prop.) <u>segapuyku</u> 'Five o'clock arrived and we all boarded the bus'
[paseóman] (10)	<u>Chay PASEO-MAN</u> ('outing' - prop.) <u>ñogayku rirayku yaga tawa chunka pisaayoq alumnakuna</u> 'We were about forty-five girls that went on this outing'
[plantéلمان] (28)	<u>PLANTELMAN</u> ('nursery school' - prop.) <u>ripuspayku</u> 'We go to this nursery school'
[plásáman] (27)	<u>Chaymantata ... aconsejavyamuyki PLAZA-MAN</u> ('square' - prop.) <u>rinaykita</u> 'So ... I advise you to go to the village square'
[plásáman] (93)	<u>Tinta PLAZA-MAN</u> ('square' - prop.) <u>haykumunku sapa tarde</u> 'Every evening they come to the square in Tinta'
[pòlisjáman] (26)	<u>Pasachinchis quejankunata POLICIA-MAN</u> ('police' - prop.) 'We have his complaints passed on to the police'
[postáman] (88)	<u>Ongogtinku POSTA-MAN</u> ('dispensary' - prop.) <u>apanay</u> 'I have to take the sick to the dispensary'
[posáman] (7)	<u>Mayuman, POZA-MAN</u> ('pool' - prop.) '(I go) to the river, to the swimming pool'
[posamáñchu] (7)	<u>Mayumanchu, POZA-MAN-CHU?</u> ('pool' - prop. - interrog.) '(Do you go) to the river and the swimming pool?'
[potréróman] (20)	<u>Chaymanta Quillabamba llaqtamanta carreterakuna lloqsin ... POTRERO-MAN</u> ('Potrero' - prop.), <u>Sirialoman</u> 'So from the village of Quillabamba,

[pròseʃjónman] (56)	roads run out to ... Potrero and Sirialo' <u>Chaymantaga PROCESION-MAN</u> ('procession' - prop.) <u>riyku</u> 'And then we go to the procession'
[pròseʃjónman] (99)	<u>Chaymanta riyku PROCESION-MAN</u> ('procession' - prop.) 'And then we go to the procession'
[řosáman] (58)	... normalta tawa wata ñoga estudiakuni Normal Superior Santa ROSA-MAN ('Rosa' - prop.) '... I studied teacher training for four years at the teacher training college of Santa Rosa'
[señoráman] (75)	... huj SEÑORA-MAN ('woman' - prop.) <u>achuyrachin</u> '... he approached this woman'
[sitjóman] (23)	... huj SITIO-MAN ('place' - prop.) <u>tendal nisqa kan</u> '... in this place they call it the "tendal"'
[súrman] (39)	... nortemanta SUR-MAN ('south' - prop.) <u>urayamun</u> '... it flows down from north to south'
[tècomānmi] (79)	... wallpataq nisqa: <u>TECHO-MAN-MI</u> ('roof' - prop. - aff.) <u>segasqa, chaypi puñusaq</u> '... the hen said: I will go up on to the roof, and sleep there'
[tendáľman] (18)	<u>Hacienda wasiman, TENDAL-MAN</u> ('tendal' - prop.) <u>q'epipin astanku</u> 'They carry it to the farm house or to the <u>tendal</u> in bundles'
[toríman] (78)	<u>TORRE-MAN</u> ('tower' - prop.) <u>segay, nisqa</u> 'Climb the tower, he said'
[tribunáľman] (31)	<u>Qosqo TRIBUNAL-MAN</u> ('tribunal' - prop.) <u>apelación nisqata churakuyta atinku</u> 'They can make the appeal in the Cuzco tribunal'
[troxéman] (5)	... <u>apanku TROJE-MAN</u> ('granary' - prop.) '... they bring it to the granary'
[troxéman] (18)	... <u>saratataq TROJE-MAN</u> ('granary' - prop.) <u>winapunki</u> '... you bring the maize to the granary'
[vēntanáman] (79)	... <u>VENTANA-MAN</u> ('window' - prop.) <u>saveriruspan-chis</u> '... we suddenly stopped at the window'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-manta/

/-manta/ ablative or consequential may be glossed 'by, from, for, of, about, because of, instead of' (see YL 29; JL 624; EM 55-56, 234-237; GP 41; MY 61). S loans found in conjunction with /-manta/ are free forms of the substantive, adjective and adverb classes.

S loans + /-manta/ ± other Q suffix(es)

- [abixjomanta]
(45) Kayman hamunku wañusqanmanta, suwakusqanmanta, ABIGEO-MANTA ('cattle-thieving' - 'about') 'They come here about deaths, robberies, cattle-thieving'
- [agràrjamanta]
(68) Reforma AGRARIA-MANTA ('Agrarian' - 'from') pacha imaymanata chay comunistakuna yachachipun runa-kunata 'Since the Agrarian Reform the communists are teaching the people'
- [àgropekwàrjomanta]
(86) Qolqe mañakusqankuta Banco de Fomento AGROPECU-ARIO-MANTA ('agrarian' - 'from') ... kutichipunku 'They return ... their loans from the Agrarian Development Bank'
- [àgropekwàrjomantá-pas]
(86) Chaymanta rinku Banco de Fomento AGROPECUARIO-MANTA-PAS ('agrarian' - 'from' - 'even') 'So they even go to the Agrarian Development Bank'
- [àlbañilmanta]
(33) Ñogayku hay veces ALBAÑIL-MANTA ('brick-layer' - 'instead of') pasayku, hay veces chacareromanta pasayku 'Sometimes we take the place of masons, sometimes we take the place of farmers'
- [àlmwersomanta]
(14) Pagarisnintintaq ... ALMUERZO-MANTA ('lunch' - 'from') ... tusunku, tomanku 'On the following day ... they dance and drink ... from lunch-time on'
- [ànterjomanta]
(73) ... hampunku novioq wasinman ANTERIOR-MANTA ('before' - 'from') pacha ruwasqana '... they come ... to the bridegroom's house that he has made before'
- [àntesmantáraq]
(24) Chay razonpi khaynata kay watakuna ANTES-MANTA-RAQ ('before' - 'since' - 'still') rencilla kasqa 'For this reason for a long time there had been this quarrel'
- [àwtoridàdmantápas]
(33) ... chaypi ñogayku AUTORIDAD-MANTA-PAS ('author-ity' - 'of' - 'even') pasallaykutaqmi '... here we really pass even for authorities'
- [asukaïmanta]
(68) ... porque hasta t'antamanta pacha, recadomanta pacha, AZUCAR-MANTA ('sugar' - 'from') pacha apachiyku '... because we send everything from bread and provisions and sugar'
- [kàmpomanta]
(83) ... lliu imaymana mikhunakunata apamuni CAMPO-MANTA ('country' - 'from') '... I bring all kinds of food from the country'
- [kàñamanta]
(86) ... aguardiente CAÑA-MANTA ('cane' - 'on') cobra-kun chunka tawayoq soles impuesto '... fourteen soles tax is levied on sugar-cane alcohol'
- [kàñamantápas]
(86) ... impuestota cocamantapas, aguardiente CAÑA-MANTA-PAS ('cane' - 'for' - 'both') cobrakun '... a tax is levied both on coca and sugar-cane alcohol'

[kàrselmánta] (45)	<u>Kaypi ñoqaga juezta nini CARCEL-MANTA</u> ('prison' - 'from') <u>lloqsinanpaq o carcelman haykunanpaq</u> 'And so I tell the judge if he is to come out of prison or go into prison'
[komunidàdmánta] (36)	<u>Wañuqpakunataqmi hamullankutag COMUNIDAD-MANTA</u> ('community' - 'from') 'And so the dead person's relations come from the community'
[koxèçamánta] (13)	<u>COSECHA-MANTA</u> ('harvest' - 'about') <u>willasqayki</u> 'I am telling you about the harvest'
[eskwèlamánta] (3)	<u>... maestrayku señora Josefina Campana karan, directora 722 ESCUELA-MANTA</u> ('school' - 'of') '... our teacher was Mrs. Josefina Campana, the head of school 722'
[eskìnāmánta] (17)	<u>... chay wichay ESQUINA-MANTA</u> ('corner' - 'from') <u>carcel chinpa esquina chay tukuy wasi</u> '... this whole house (was) beyond the corner of the prison'
[estùdjománta] (58)	<u>Sicuanì ESTUDIO-MANTA</u> ('study' - 'from') <u>normalta hamuni</u> 'I have come from my studies in the teacher training college in Sicuanì'
[estranxèrománta] (20)	<u>Hujinì ganaderia, huj gringoq EXTRANJERO-MANTA</u> ('abroad' - 'from'), <u>Inglaterramanta</u> 'One of these herds belongs to this foreigner from abroad, from England'
[fjèstamánta] (27)	<u>... bendición churayku chay FIESTA-MANTA</u> ('fiesta' - 'of') <u>kimsa p'unchay</u> '... the blessing is given on the third day of this fiesta'
[fjèstamantáqa] (52)	<u>... chayman kay FIESTA-MANTA-QA</u> ('fiesta' - 'of' - emph.) <u>manañan imapas qhepanachu</u> '... but afterwards nothing remains of this fiesta'
[fjèstamantátatq] (72)	<u>... chay FIESTA-MANTA-TAQ</u> ('fiesta' - 'because of' - conn.) <u>ichaga aghata tomanku, tragota tomanku</u> '... so they drink maize beer and spirits because of the fiesta'
[frànsjamánta] (55)	<u>Chayqa gringokunapas hamunku FRANCIA-MANTA</u> ('France' - 'from') 'Even foreigners come from France'
[asjèndamánta] (48)	<u>Ñoqa kaypi kunalla kay HACIENDA-MANTA</u> ('farm' - 'from') <u>rantikapuni allpata</u> 'Now I have just bought land from this farm'
[asjèndamánta] (86)	<u>Sapa semana riyku HACIENDA-MANTA</u> ('farm' - 'about') <u>huj haciendaman controlaspa, producción control-aspa</u> 'Every week we go and see about the farms, checking a farm, checking its production'
[asjèndamánta] (63)	<u>... chaymanta ch'eqiriran kay HACIENDA-MANTA</u> ('farm' - 'from') '... so he started to leave this farm'
[asjèndamánta] (99)	<u>Chay HACIENDA-MANTA</u> ('farm' - 'from') <u>lloqsimuyku misaman</u> 'We leave this farm to go to mass'

- [inglateramanta]
(20) Hujnin ganaderia, huj gringoq extranjeromanta,
INGLATERRA-MANTA ('England' - 'from') 'One of these herds belongs to this foreigner from abroad, from England'
- [inglateramanta]
(92) ... hinaspataq k'anchayniykiwan kutimuspa
INGLATERRA-MANTA ('England' - 'from') ... kay
Calca llaqtata '... you will return from England bringing your light ... to this village of Calca'
- [xusgadamanta]
(31) Ñogayku hunt'ayku imatachá ñogaykuman hatun
JUZGADO-MANTA ('tribunal' - 'from') kamachiwanku
'We comply with whatever the court may order us'
- [xusgadamanta]
(45) Kayman hamunku wañusqanmanta, suwakusqanmanta
... JUZGADO-MANTA ('tribunal' - 'from') 'They come here from the tribunal ... about murders and robberies'
- [ladumanta]
(45) Chaymi kay idiomaqa kaypi rimana y iskaynin
LADO-MANTA ('side' - 'from'), castellanota, runa-
simita 'So this language is spoken here, and from both sides, Spanish and Quechua'
- [ladumantaču]
(66) ... mana huj LADO-MANTA-CHU ('side' - 'from' - neg.) '... not on this side'
- [liomanta]
(26) ... sapa p'unchay hamunku ... campesinokuna
quejakug allpamanta, LIO-MANTA ('quarrel' - 'about'), maganakusqankumanta '... every day the peasants ... come here to lodge their complaints about land, quarrels, beatings'
- [maïstromanta]
(32) Chaymanta hampuni kay llaqtaman, MAESTRO-MANTA
('teacher' - 'as') escuela 721 llank'ani 'So I came to this village, and worked as a teacher in school 721'
- [maneramanta]
(23) ... anchayna MANERA-MANTA ('method' - 'by')
cosechanku sarata chaypi '... they harvest the maize by many methods here'
- [misamanta]
(99) ... MISA-MANTA ('mass' - 'from') kutipuyku almor-
zayku '... we return from mass and have lunch'
- [nobleśamanta]
(96) Chaymanta lliu wiraqochakuna NOBLEZA-MANTA
('nobility' - 'of') huñunakunku 'Many gentlemen of the nobility gather'
- [nortimanta]
(39) ... NORTE-MANTA ('north' - 'from') surman uraya-
mun '... it flows down from north to south'
- [padrinomanta]
(16) Chayta mikhuyachispa tomayachispaña valekuna
PADRINO-MANTA ('sponsor' - 'about') servikunanpaq
'Only when they have made them eat and drink these things do they request them to be sponsors'
- [partimanta]
(33) ... ñogaykutaq wakin PARTE-MANTA ('part' - 'from')
churanayku '... and so we contribute the rest'

- [pàrtimánta]
(59) ... ayllu runakuna kimsa PARTE-MANTA ('place' - 'from') kunan wata ruranku descansota '... the people from the ayllu from three places are making the altar this year'
- [pàtronamánta]
(19) ... paytan PATRONA-MANTA ('patron' - 'as') chay llaqtapi hap'inku '... they maintain her as the patron of this village'
- [pìlamánta]
(99) ... unuta apamuyku chaymanta, PILA-MANTA ('tap' - 'from') wasimanraq apamuyku '... we take the water from there, we still take it to the house from the tap'
- [pòlvománta]
(28) ... lliu POLVO-MANTA ('dust' - 'because of') mana rikuymi karapun lliukuna '... because of all the dust, not everything could be seen'
- [pònçemánta]
(14) ... noviokuna desde PONCHE-MANTA ('punch' - 'from') pacha ch'isiyaq invitakun almuerzota mikhunata '... in the afternoon the bride and groom offer everything, from punch to lunch and food'
- [rasamánta]
(53) Chay pueblokunapiqa aswan yanakuna, yana RAZA-MANTA ('race' - 'of') kanku 'In these towns there are many dark people, people of the dark race'
- [řekàdománta]
(68) ... porque hasta t'antamanta pacha, RECADO-MANTA ('provisions' - 'from') ... apachiyku '... because we send everything ... from bread and provisions'
- [rèumàtismománta]
(39) Chaypin askha onqosqa personakuna, runakuna hamuspa galliyan chay REUMATISMO-MANTA ('rheumatism' - 'of') nisqa onqoy 'Many sick people come here and say they are cured of the disease of rheumatism'
- [sàlvaðormánta]
(94) Padrinon unanchasqa karani San SALVADOR-MANTA ('Salvador' - 'of') escuela ruwanankupaq 'I was named the patron of the school they built in San Salvador'
- [sèksjonmánta]
(58) ... entonces ñogataq siempre phawayuni SECCION-MANTA ('class' - 'from') '... and then I always hurry away from my class'
- [semànamánta]
(46) Haciendaman hujmanta chayamuyku SEMANA-MANTA ('week' - 'from') 'So we arrived at the farm again after a week'
- [sitjománta]
(58) Munaycha kay SITIO-MANTA ('place' - 'about') 'It's nice about this place'
- [soldàdománta]
(27) ... chay salida hamunku yanakuna, warmi, qhari, iskay SOLDADO-MANTA ('soldier' - 'as') vestisqa p'achasqa '... in this salida dance there are two black people, a man and a woman, dressed as soldiers'

[tèxnikamanta] (67)	<u>Yachay wasipin yachachiyku ñoqayku profesor educación TECNICA-MANTA ('technical' - 'of') kasqaykurayku, imaynatachus allpata llank'ana</u> 'In this school as teachers of technical education we teach all kinds of work on the land'
[tjèstomanta] (55)	<u>Venderanku mankakunata TIESTO-MANTA ('earthenware' - 'of')</u> 'They sold earthenware pots'
[tòrimanta] (78)	<u>TORRE-MANTA ('tower' - 'from')</u> <u>tangaychimuspa, mana atisqakuchu tangaymuyta</u> 'They couldn't manage to push him out of the tower'
[trigomanta] (16)	<u>Hagay San Salvador ladopiga acostumbranku saramanta pacha TRIGO-MANTA ('wheat' - 'from')</u> ... <u>habasman ... saqenku</u> 'Over by San Salvador they have the custom of giving ... everything from maize and wheat ... to beans'
[unìdomantapas] (55)	<u>Chayqa gringokunapas hamunku Franciamanta, Estados UNIDO(s i c)-MANTA-PAS ('United' - 'from' - 'and')</u> 'Even foreigners come from France and from the U.S.'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-mi/

/-mi/ affirmative or emphatic. Normally follows consonant-final forms, but see compadremi, below. The alternative /-n/ is used after vowel-final loans (see p. 182). (See YL 41 — in CQ the form /-min/ may be used after either consonants or vowels though the alternative form /-n/ is also found; JL 647; EM 317-318; GP 82-83 — in AQ /-m/ is the form used after vowels; MY 65). S loans found in conjunction with /-mi/ are free forms of the substantive class.

S loans + /-mi/

[kòmpadrími] (77)	<u>Ay tiöchay, tío, COMPADRE-MI ('godfather' - aff.) wañurapusqa</u> 'Oh, uncle, uncle, my godfather has died'
[èstasjónmi] (30)	<u>Chunka tawayoq ESTACION-MI ('halt' - aff.) Calca llaqtamanta hasta orqoq mukukun puntekama kasqan</u> 'There are fourteen halts between the village of Calca and the summit of the mountain pinnacle'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-mu/

/-mu/ cislocative, indicating, with verbs of movement, direction towards the speaker, and with other verbs that the subject is disposed to take part in the action of the verb, usually translated 'to go to ...' (see YL 31; JL 667; EM 171-172; GP 72-73; MY 50). S loans found in conjunction with /-mu/ are bound forms of the verb stem class.

S loans + /-mu/ ± other Q suffix(es)

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| [anotámun]
(36) | <u>Chaymi médico certificamuqtin kutimun y ANOTA-</u>
<u>-MU-N</u> ('register' - cisloc. - 3rd s. pres.) <u>kaypi</u>
'The doctor returns and certifies it there and registers it here' |
| [sertifikamúetin]
(36) | <u>Chaymi médico CERTIFICA-MU-QTI-N</u> ('certify' -
cisloc. - conjunc. - 3rd s. pres.) <u>kutimun y</u>
<u>anotamun kaypi</u> 'The doctor returns and certi-
fies it there and registers it here' |
| [entregamulántaq]
(73) | <u>... sichus kan taytaq michin chaytapas ENTREGA-</u>
<u>-MU-LLA-N-TAQ</u> ('hand over' - cisloc. - lim. - 3rd
s. pres. - conn.) '... so if the father has a
cat he just hands even it over' |
| [èntregámun]
(73) | <u>Chaymanta ENTREGA-MU-N</u> ('hand over' - cisloc. -
3rd s. pres.) <u>segaderata, lasota</u> 'And then he
hands over a sickle and a rope' |
| [èntregámun]
(73) | <u>... chaymanta ENTREGA-MU-N</u> ('hand over' - cisloc.
- 3rd s. pres.) <u>huj borregota</u> '... then he
hands over a sheep' |
| [fastidjamúraŋ]
(79) | <u>Hinaspan chay sarata huk'uchakuna lliuta</u>
<u>FASTIDIA-MU-RA-N</u> ('mess up' - cisloc. - past -
3rd s.) <u>askha huk'uchakuna</u> 'And the mice, lots
of mice, messed up all the maize there' |
| [leimúni]
(7) | <u>Panaywan puillamuni, ratota LEE-MU-NI</u> ('read' -
cisloc. - 1st s. pres.) <u>libroskunata</u> 'I play
with my brother, and sometimes I read books' |
| [nombrámun]
(59) | <u>... sinoga gobierno directamente NOMBRA-MU-N</u>
(('elect' - cisloc. - 3rd s. pres.) <u>alcaldeta</u>
'... but the government elects the mayor
directly from there' |
| [pasamúraŋ]
(45) | <u>Chaymanta PASA-MU-RA-N</u> ('go on' - cisloc. - past
- 3rd s.) <u>"quechua"</u> 'So it became "Quechua"' |
| [pintámuni]
(8) | <u>Choqecanchaman rirani pintaŋ, PINTA-MU-NI</u>
(('paint' - cisloc. - 1st s. pres.) <u>runakuna</u>
'I went to Choqecancha to paint, I paint(ed)
the people there' |

[pròibimũ]	...	porque Ministerio Agricultura PROHIBI-MU-N ('forbid' - cisloc. - 3rd s. pres.) china waca ñak'anankuta '... because the Ministry of Agriculture forbids them to slaughter cows there'
(15)		
[pròibimũku]	...	porque chayta PROHIBI-MU-NKU ('forbid' - cisloc. - 3rd pl. pres.) al fin procreekunanrayku '... because in the end they forbid this there because of breeding'
(15)		
[ràskamũwaj]	Huj wiragocha lliuta tenazakunawan RASCA-MU-WA-N ('scrape' - cisloc. - trans. - 3rd s. pres.)	
(79)		'Then this gentleman scraped everything off me with pincers'
[sùfrimurani]	Chaypi SUFRI-MU-RA-NI ('suffer' - cisloc. - past - 1st s.) yaga qanchis wata empleopi llank'amurani	
(62)		'I suffered there, I was in a job there for almost 7 years'
[sùfrimũspa]	...	aswantaq ghawarini kunan último LImapi SUFRI-MU-SPA ('suffer' - cisloc. - simul.) '... but now I know how I suffered in Lima too'
(82)		
[tapamũ]	Kay husq'amugtintaq chay ghepanta huj TAPA-MU-N ('cover' - cisloc. - 3rd s. pres.) chay surcokunata	
(23)		'As he goes along sowing the seed, this man goes along behind and covers over these furrows'
[tòmanũni]	Chaymantaga tragotayá TOMA-MU-NI ('take' - cisloc. - 1st s. pres.)	
(8)		'... then I have a drink'
[tòmanwiku]	...	mayninpiqa poncheta ima TOMA-MU-YKU ('take' - cisloc. - 1st pl. excl. pres.) '... we drink punch wherever we are'
(57)		
[tràsplantamũni]	Chay almacigokunata huj ladoman apaspa TRAS-PLANTA-MU-NI ('transplant' - cisloc. - 1st s. pres.)	
(67)		'Taking them elsewhere, I transplant these plantations'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-n/

1. /-n/ affirmative or emphatic. Follows vowel-final loans. The alternative /-mi/ is used after consonant-final forms: see page 180 (see YL 41 — in CQ the form /-min/ may be used after either consonants or vowels though the alternative form /-n/ is also found; JL 686; EM 317-318; GP 82-83 — in AQ /-m/ is the form used after vowels; MY 65). S loans found in conjunction with /-n/ are free forms of the substantive class.

S loans + /-n/ ± other Q suffix(es)

- [álməŋ]
(50) ... AIMA-N ('soul' - aff.) kausarimusqa manchachi-kushanmi, nispa rimanku '... they say the souls that have survived frighten them'
- [aɭturəŋpitaɕ]
(23) ... ALTURA-N-PI-TAQ ('height' - aff. - loc. - conn.), punapitaq papata lisasta ... trigo, cebadata chaykunata llank'anku '... and in the heights, in the punas, they produce potatoes, lisas ... wheat, barley, these things'
- [êikáŋta]
(82) Qonqayuni huj CHICA-N-TA ('little' - aff. - obj.) hinaspá llank'aytaq gallarirani 'I had forgotten a little, and then I began to work'
- [kláseŋ]
(81) ... chay hak'u papata ... puywantawan ... iskay CLASE-N ('kind' - aff.) kan '... there are two kinds ... of this floury potato ... with eyes'
- [fjéstəŋ]
(1) Chunka pisqayoc agostopiqa huj gran FIESTA-N ('fiesta' - aff.) kaypi 'On the 15th of August there is this big fiesta here'
- [fjéstəŋ]
(55) Chaykuna kimsa diasta FIESTA-N ('fiesta' - aff.) karan 'Then there were three days of fiesta'
- [máistrəŋ]
(32) ... MAESTRO-N ('teacher' - aff.) kani primertaga '... in the first place I am a teacher'
- [máistrəŋ]
(32) Kay llaqtapi llank'ani, MAESTRO-N ('teacher' - aff.) kani 'I work in this village, I am a teacher'
- [misaŋ]
(19) ... cargo MISA-N ('mass' - aff.) las diez de la mañanata '... there is the office of mass at 10 o'clock in the morning'
- [padrínoŋ]
(94) PADRINO-N ('patron' - aff.) unanchasqa karani San Salvadomanta escuela ruwanankupaq 'I was named the patron of the school they built in San Salvador'
- [pisinaŋ]
(39) Huj hatun PISCINA-N ('swimming pool' - aff.) kan, baño Minas Moqo sutiyoq 'There is this big pool called the bath of Minas Moqo'
- [plasaŋpas]
(20) Huj PLAZA-N-PAS ('square' - aff. - 'also') hatun 'The square is big as well'
- [sèkretarjónpa]
(26) Kaypi primer autoridad wiragocha subprefecto, SECRETARIO-N-PA ('secretary' - ?aff. - poss.) atendeyku quejakunata 'Here the first authority is the subprefect and as his secretary we attend to all complaints'
- [sitjəŋ]
(39) Huj SITIO-N ('place' - aff.) sutin Qallqa 'This place is called Qallqa'
- [taɾdinta]
(18) Chay tukuytataqmi TARDE-N-TA ('afternoon' - aff. obj.) diurnokuna samapunku 'The daily labourers rest at the end of the afternoon'

[vísperəŋ]
(19)

... chay chunka p'sqayoc p'unchaypi VISPERA-N
('vesper' - aff.) qallarikun '... the vesper
begins on the fifteenth day'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-n/

2. /-n/ 3rd s. poss. (see JL 686; EM 79-80; GP 26, 28; MY 56-57).

All S loans found in conjunction with /-n/ possessive are free forms of the substantive class.

S loans + /-n/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[aḵxəðóntə]
(16)

Chaymi padrinopas contento kausan AHIJADO-N-TA
('protégé' - 3rd S. poss. - obj.) sumagta kausayta
rikuspa 'So the sponsor lives happily seeing
his protégés live so happily'

[kəbáʎon]
(76)

... hinaspa CABALLO-N ('horse' - 3rd s. poss.)
kasqa huj llaqtata risqa '... there was his
horse and it went to the village'

[kəʎĩŋkunápas]
(20)

Kunanga llaqta wiñashan CALLE-N-KUNA-PAS
('street' - 3rd s. poss. - pl. - 'even') kashan
sumaq asfaltasqa 'Now the town is growing, its
roads are being well asphalted'

[kəʎĩŋkunáta]
(27)

Hinaspa CALLE-N-KUNA-TA ('street' - 3rd s. poss.
- pl. - obj.) puririnku, llipin CALLENKUNATA
puririnku 'Then they walk round its streets,
they walk round all its streets'

[kláseŋ]
(52)

Askha alumnokuna por supuesto kan CLASE-N ('class-
room' - 3rd s. poss.) ukhupi 'Of course many of
the pupils are inside their classroom'

[kompañeronkunáta]
(11)

Escuela COMPAÑERO-N-KUNA-TA ('friend' - 3rd s.
poss. - pl. - obj.) magaspa wañuchipusqa 'He
killed his school friends by beating them'

[kompañeronkunáta]
(79)

Hinaspa rikhurispa rijch'achin COMPAÑERO-N-KUNA-
-TA ('friend' - 3rd s. poss. - pl. - obj.) gallo
'So the cock came back again and woke his friends'

[dəstínəŋməŋ]
(52)

Chaymantaga q'ala runa ripun DESTINO-N-MAN ('des-
tination' - 3rd s. poss. - prop.), wasinman
'Then everyone goes to his destination, to his
house'

[díaŋ]
(19)

Mama Carmenpa DIA-N ('day' - 3rd s. poss.)
p'unchaymi chunka soqtayoc p'unchaypi 'The day
of the Virgin Carmen is the sixteenth'

[distríton]
(23)

Ñogan kani San Salvador llaqtamanta, distrito
nisqa Calca provinciag DISTRITO-N ('district' -

- 3rd s. poss.) 'I am from the village of San Salvador, which is named a district of the province of Calca'
- [dweñónqa]
(79) Puñusqa chayqa DUEÑO-N-QA ('master' - 3rd s. poss. - emph.) yapamanta kutimullasqataq 'So his master slept and returned again'
- [exemplónta]
(16) Chayqa recién kausay, kausayniyoqkunata padrino-kunaq EJEMPLO-N-TA ('example' - 3rd s. poss. - obj.) qhawarispá sumaqa ch'uyata kausanku 'Then they start living together happily seeing the example of their sponsors' life'
- [empleádon]
(40) ... ñoqaykunaq empleado kayku, estadoq EMPLEADO-N ('employee' - 3rd s. poss.) '... we are employees, employees of the state'
- [fjestáymí]
(96) Qosqopi p'unchayninpi presentayku Inti Raymita, Inti Raymíqa ruphayta FIESTA-N-MI ('festival' - 3rd s. poss. - aff.) 'On the day of Cuzco we present the Inti Raymi; the Inti Raymi is the summer festival'
- [fjestámpi]
(55) Kunan feriapi rikhuriyku chay Mamacha Asunta FIESTA-N-PI ('fiesta' - 3rd s. poss. - loc.) fuegos artificiales 'Now at this fair, at the fiesta of the Virgin of the Assumption, we saw fireworks'
- [fjestánpipas]
(16) ... FIESTA-N-PI-PAS ('fiesta' - 3rd s. poss. - loc. - 'both') tanto madrinaq padrinoqpipas '... both the woman sponsor's fiestas, and the male sponsor's'
- [grànanqunáta]
(18) Chaymanta ajllanki mujupaq chay sumaq hatun GRANO-N-KUNA-TA ('grain' - 3rd s. poss. - pl. - obj.) 'Then you choose its really big grains for seed'
- [asjéndaq]
(23) ... señora Rosa Galvezpa HACIENDA-N ('farm' - 3rd s. poss.) '... the farm (belongs to) the señora Rosa Galvez'
- [asjéndaq]
(99) Ñoga hampuni porque hacienda Urquillospi kan, patronniykunaq HACIENDA-N ('farm' - 3rd s. poss.) 'I have come because the farm in Urquillos belongs to my masters'
- [idjòmanâq]
(45) ... entonces paykuna españolkuna pensaranku IDIOMA-N-CHA ('language' - 3rd s. poss. - conj.) "geswa", nispa niranku "quechua" '... so perhaps these Spaniards thought their language was "geswa", and they called it "quechua"'
- [idjòmanmánta]
(45) Paykuna orgullosa nisiu orgullosa karanku runasimi ... éste ... IDIOMA-N-MANTA ('language' - 3rd s. poss. - 'of') 'They were proud, very proud of Quechua ... er ... of their language'
- [xuramentónta]
(89) Quizás willyakimanpaschá éste ... JURAMENTO-N-TA ('oath' - 3rd s. poss. - obj.) 'Perhaps I might tell you ... about his oath'

- [mamaṅkunapas]
(16) ... tomayunku amistadninkunapas parientenkunapas casarakuq tayta MAMA-N-KUNA-PAS ('mother' - 3rd s. poss. - pl. - 'and') '... both the friends and relations and the fathers and mothers of the married couple drink'
- [mamaṅkunapas]
(92) ... hinaspataq tayta MAMA-N-KUNA-PAS ('mother' - 3rd s. poss. - pl. - 'and') kayman hamunanku parlaq '... and so both the fathers and mothers have to come here to talk'
- [parjèntiṅkunapas]
(16) ... tomayunku amistadninkunapas, PARIENTE-N-KUNA-PAS ('relation' - 3rd s. poss. - pl. - 'and') casarakuq tayta mamankunapas '... both the friends and relations and the fathers and mothers of the married couple drink'
- [parkiṅkuna]
(20) ... chaymanta kan iskay PARQUE-N-KUNA ('park' - 3rd s. poss. - pl.) '... then there are its two parks'
- [partinmantaqa]
(33) ... porque desarrollo comunalpica gobiernopas churanapuni PARTE-N-MANTA-QA ('part' - 3rd s. poss. - 'about' - aff.) '... because in community development, even the government ought to play its part'
- [partiḱonkuna]
(76) ... chay haciendayocpa PARTIDO-N-KUNA ('team' - 3rd s. poss. - pl.) '... the teams of this farmer'
- [prodùxtonkunata]
(95) Calca llaqtapi sapa domingo rikukun imaymana runa lliu PRODUCTO-N-KUNA-TA ('product' - 3rd s. poss. - pl. - obj.) 'Every Sunday all sorts of people come to the village of Calca to sell many of their products'
- [kexaṅkunata]
(26) Pasachinchis QUEJA-N-KUNA-TA ('complaint' - 3rd s. poss. - pl. - obj.) según el caso policiaṃan 'Depending on the case, we have his complaints passed on to the police'
- [toṛtanta]
(76) Hinaspas llant'aman a'epichikuspa TORTA-N-TA ('cake' - 3rd s. poss. - obj.) 'Then having picked up his cake he went for wood' 1
- [tumbaṅkuna]
(98) TUMBA-N-KUNA ('tomb' - 3rd s. poss. - pl.) karan Waykuyuruqi 'Their graves were in Waykuyuruq'
- [wakiṅta]
(15) VACA-N-TA ('cow' - 3rd s. poss. - obj.) venden Qosqomanta 'He sells his cow in Cuzco'
- [wakiṅtatae]
(15) ... VACA-N-TA-TAQ ('cow' - 3rd s. poss. - obj. - conn.) kaypi nak'anku camalpi '... and they kill his cows here in the slaughterhouse'
- [ventanaṃanta]
(79) Hinaspa qhawanku chay wasita VENTANA-N-MANTA ('window' - 3rd s. poss. - 'from') 'So they saw this house from the window'
- [vjàṇdanta]
(10) ... wakin alumnakuna chay VIANDA-N-TA ('food' - 3rd s. poss. - obj.) mana tukusgankutaq (sic, not a correct negative construction) '... the

[viðânça]
(77)

rest of the pupils did not finish their food'
Kunanga VIDA-N-CHA ('life' - 3rd s. poss. - dim.)
kaypi paganga, nispa 'Now he will pay in this
life here, he said'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-n/

3. /-n/ 3rd s. pres. (see YL 23-24; EM 88-89; GP 47-48; MY 56-57).

S loans found in conjunction with /-n/ 3rd s. pres. are bound forms of the verb stem class.

S loans + /-n/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[atjénðen]
(1)

Chaypi alferado ATIENDE-N ('look after' - 3rd s. pres.) chay cargota 'Here the second-in-command is in charge'

[atjénðen]
(2)

Hatun iglesiaman cargoyoctaq Mamachata ATIENDE-N ('accompany' - 3rd s. pres.) 'And the sponsor accompanies the Holy Mother to the big church'

[atjénðen]
(36)

Comunidad runakuna hamun ... llapantapas kay oficinapiqa hinata ATIENDE-N ('wait' - 3rd s. pres.) 'The people from the communities come ... and they see to them all in this office'

[kaénmi]
(50)

... chay difuntokunamantapas CAE-N-MI ('fall' - 3rd s. pres. - aff.) ... chay creesqankuman hina '... they even fall into beliefs ... about the dead'

[kaentáemi]
(50)

Pero hay veces CAE-N-TAQ-MI ('fall' - 3rd s. pres. - conn. - emph.) chay creenciakuman 'But sometimes he falls into these beliefs'

[selébrən]
(96)

Hinaspa curaga lliu ceremoniakunata CELEBRA-N ('celebrate' - 3rd s. pres.) inti taytanpaq 'Then the priest performs many ceremonies to his father, the sun'

[kompáñən]
(50)

Pero ... muchas veces ... creesqankuman hina chayan tuta purispanku o suertenkucha COMPANA-N (sic: the a is omitted) ('accompany' - 3rd s. pres.) 'But ... often ... according to what they believe they arrive, walking at night, according to the fortune that goes with them' (the translation is tentative)

[konsumən]
(1)

Por ejemplo hawamanta runa hamun ... chayllan aychatapas CONSUME-N ('eat' - 3rd s. pres.) 'For example people come from outside ... and they eat meat'

[difikúltaj]
(58)

... chaymanta DIFICULTA-N ('have difficulty' - 3rd s. pres.), sapa leccionta mana atin entendechinaypaq '... because of this she has difficulty, she cannot make herself understood in any of the lessons'

[dúraj]
(1)

Hinaspa chay fiesta kimsa p'unchayta DURA-N ('last' - 3rd s. pres.) 'So this festival lasts for three days'

[dúraj]
(52)

DURA-N ('last' - 3rd s. pres.) hasta más o menos hasta iskay chunka p'unchay agosto kama 'It lasts more or less until the 20th of August'

[dúraj]
(99)

Na kimsa p'unchaymi DURA-N ('last' - 3rd s. pres.) chay fiesta 'Well, this festival lasts until the third day'

[eléxiŋ]
(59)

Qhepatataq llaqta ELEGI-N ('elect' - 3rd s. pres.) alcaldeta 'And afterwards the village elects the mayor'

[fájtaŋ]
(33)

... pero mana apoyoyku kanchu, gobierno FALTA-N ('fail' - 3rd s. pres.) apoyota mana apachimuwan-kuchu '... but there is no support for us, the government fails, it doesn't send me support'

[fajtânêu]
(93)

Anchaymi qanchi tusuypi mana FALTA-N-CHU ('miss' - 3rd s. pres. - neg.) 'He is never missing in the qanchi dance'

[fajtanmânêu]
(93)

Chaymi kay ukukuqa mana FALTA-N-MAN-CHU ('miss' - 3rd s. pres. - cond. - neg.) qanchi tusuypi 'So this bear would never be missing in the qanchi dance'

[fajoréseŋ]
(89)

... ley FAVORECE-N ('favour' - 3rd s. pres.) '... the law favours (them)'

[infórmaŋ]
(36)

Numerokunatapaz hujmanta hasta waranqakama ... INFORMA-N ('inform' - 3rd s. pres.) 'And he informs us ... here of the numbers from one up to one thousand'

[pagáŋqa]
(77)

Kunanga vidancha kaypi PAGA-N-QA ('pay' - 3rd s. pres. - emph.) nispa 'Now he will pay in this life here, he said'

[párlaŋ]
(58)

... allin PARLA-N ('speak' - 3rd s. pres.) quechuata '... she speaks Quechua well'

[pásaj]
(2)

Altar chaupinta Mamacha PASA-N ('pass' - 3rd s. pres.) 'The Holy Mother passes the centre of the altar'

[pásaj]
(23)

Chaymanta huj tiempo PASA-N ('pass' - 3rd s. pres.) 'Because of this time passes'

[pásaj]
(31)

Chay expedientekunataqmi hatun juzgadoman PASA-N ('pass' - 3rd s. pres.) 'These briefs pass to the chief tribunal'

[pásan] (39)	<u>Huj hatun mayutaqmi PASA-N</u> ('pass' - 3rd s. pres.) <u>sur llaqtata Wilkanota sutiyoq</u> 'And this big river that passes to the south of the village is called the Wilkanota'
[pásan] (71)	<u>Chayqa chaykamaqa huk'ucha PASA-N</u> ('go' - 3rd s. pres.) 'And then the mouse went up to it'
[pasáñña] (59)	<u>Hinaspa chay chunka hujniyoq watapi PASA-N-ÑA</u> ('pass' - 3rd s. pres. - 'now') <u>soqta o pisaq alcaldekuna, cambiakun</u> 'Now in these eleven years, we've had six or five mayors in succession'
[pésan] (41)	<u>... altura cocañataqmi pisichalla PESA-N</u> ('weigh' - 3rd s. pres.) '... the coca from the heights only weighs a little'
[publíkan] (36)	<u>... chaymi consejo PUBLICA-N</u> ('publish' - 3rd s. pres.) <u>pusaq p'unchayta</u> '... so the town council publishes it on the eighth day'
[kédan] (20)	<u>Chay urbanización QUEDA-N</u> ('be located' - 3rd s. pres.) <u>Masapata ladoman</u> 'This urbanization is over by Masapata'
[sirven] (27)	<u>Chaykunaga SIRVE-N</u> ('serve' - 3rd s. pres.) <u>wasinchispaq munaycha kananpaq</u> 'They serve, so that it is nice for our household'
[válen] (82)	<u>Educacionpuni VALE-N</u> ('is worth' - 3rd s. pres.) <u>ima maypi kanapaqpas</u> 'Education is always worthwhile for any situation'
[vénden] (8)	<u>Entonces kay runa VENDE-N</u> ('sell' - 3rd s. pres.) <u>gorita Limaman</u> 'Then this man sells the gold in Lima'
[vénden] (15)	<u>Vacanta VENDE-N</u> ('sell' - 3rd s. pres.) <u>Qosqo-manta</u> 'He sells his cow in Cuzco'
[vénden] (15)	<u>Chayta mamitay VENDE-N</u> ('sell' - 3rd s. pres.) <u>plazapi sapa p'unchay</u> 'My mother sells this every day in the square'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-na/

/-na/ nominalizer or reciprocal. Derives nouns from verbs giving them a future or obligatory sense (e.g. ruway 'to do'; ruwana 'that which has to be done'; ruwanayki 'what you have to do'). Combined with /-ku/ it expresses reciprocal action (see YL 31, 43; JL 687; EM 95-96, 209, 291; GP 55, 68; MY 53-54). S loans found in conjunction with /-na/ are

bound forms of the verb stem class, with the exception of amparonaykipaq, which appears to be a case of analogy with the substantive amparo.

S loans + /-na/ ± other Q suffixes

- [admira_{na}]
(30) ... llapan ruwanakunamantapas ichaga aswan sumaq kaypi lliupa ADMIRA-NA-N ('admire' - nom. - 3rd s. pres.) '... here everyone must admire the nice things they do'
- [amparonaykipaq]
(71) Ratollachá t'okorukunki AMPARO-NA-YKI-PAQ ('take refuge' - nom. - 2nd s. poss. - purp.) 'Perhaps you can dig yourself in quickly to take refuge'
- [areglanankupaq]
(88) ... ñoga willani abogadokunaman asuntokumanta ARREGLA-NA-NKU-PAQ ('arrange' - nom. - 3rd pl. poss. - purp.) '... I inform the lawyers about their affairs, so that they can be fixed up'
- [atjendéna]
(82) ... paykunaman purimunay kaq qosay ATIENDE-NA-Y ('attend' - nom. - 1st s. poss.) 'I have to go out for them, I have to attend to my husband'
- [cambjanankupaq]
(49) ... chayqa wasin wasintaraq purimuyku CAMBIA-NA-YKU-PAQ ('change' - nom. - 1st pl. excl. poss. - purp.) '... and then we have to walk from house to house to change'
- [kòbranapaq]
(86) ... sapanga fundokunamanta COBRA-NA-PAQ ('charge' - nom. - purp.) '... for the levy of each farm'
- [kòbranayku]
(86) ... chaykunata COBRA-NA-YKU ('charge' - nom. - 1st pl. excl. poss.) '... we have to charge them'
- [kwidanañampaq]
(68) ... chaypi compadreyku kaqtin kunan wasi CUIDA-NA-LLA-N-PAQ ('care' - nom. - lim. - 3rd s. poss. - purp.) '... our godfather is here to look after the house now'
- [kwidananaku]
(34) ... imaynachá chay vacankuta, ovejankuta, imaynachá CUIDA-NA-NKU ('care' - nom. - 3rd pl. poss.) '... I don't know how they look after their cows and their sheep'
- [desinfektanaykupaq]
(81) taq Chaymantataq DESINFECTA-NA-YKU-PAQ-TAQ ('disinfect' - nom. - 1st pl. excl. poss. - purp. - conn.) Adrilta churayku 'And then in order to disinfect, we put on Adril'
- [entendinankupaq]
(89) Chay yanapawanku o paytapas runa hamuqtapas yanapan ENTENDE-NA-KUNA-YKU-PAQ ('understand' - nom. - pl. - 1st pl. excl. poss. - purp.) 'They help us, or whoever comes, so that we get on together'
- [entendinanku]
(43) ... paykunawanmi munayta ENTENDE-NA-KU-YKU ('get on' - recip. - reflex. - 1st pl. excl. pres.) '... we get on well with them'

- [èntregánaj]
(85) Chaymantapag vacakuna ... q'ala yupasqa ENTREGA-
-NA-Y ('hand over' - nom. - 1st s. poss.) kaq
'And then I had to count the cows ... and hand
them over'
- [estùdjanámpaq]
(58) Sapa niñakuna allin hamun, ganas ESTUDIA-NA-N-
-PAQ ('study' - nom. - 3rd s. poss. purp.) 'All
the girls come happily, eager to study'
- [èsplikañáipaq]
(58) ... imakunata munan EXPLICA-NA-N-PAQ ('explain'
- nom. - 3rd s. poss. - purp.) '... whatever he
wants to explain'
- [igwaláña]
(18) ... chay wachukunata sumaqa IGUALA-NA ('level'
- nom.) allpata '... the furrows and earth
must be levelled off nicely'
- [parlanáipaq]
(63) ... y astawanqa Diospa siminta PARLA-NA-Y-PAQ
('speak' - nom. - 1st s. poss. - purp.) yachanaypag
'... and to speak and learn more of God's word'
- [repèntinâta]
(17) Nishaqtinmi Taytanchis muerte de REPENTE-NA-TA
('sudden' - ? - obj.) goykun wañurun pusharakapun
'While he was talking, God killed him suddenly
and took him away'
- [sèginápaq]
(82) Casada kanapag, soltera SEGUI-NA-PAQ ('continue'
- nom. - purp.) tukuypag necesitakun educación
'To be married or single, for everything you need
education'
- [tòmanankúpaq]
(93) ... sumaqa aqhata TOMA-NA-NKU-PAQ ('drink' -
nom. - 3rd pl. poss. - purp.), tragota uivananku-
pag '... in order to drink good maize beer
and imbibe alcohol'
- [tomanâta]
(84) Riyku, apakuyku mikhunata, imaymanata TOMA-NA-TA
('take' - nom. - obj.) 'We go, carrying our food,
and everything we have to take'
- [vjàxanápápas]
(49) ... chayqa karu VIAJA-NA-PAQ-PAS ('travel' - nom.
- purp. - 'and') '... and for such a long
journey'
- [vjàxanái ku]
(68) VIAJA-NA-YKU ('journey' - nom. - 1st pl. excl.
poss.) Vilcabambaman ... carrota saqeyku kikin
hacienda punkupi 'For our journey to Vilca-
bamba we leave the car just at the gate of the
farm'
- [vìsitánámpaq]
(16) ... año nuevo fiestakunapiqa ahijadokunaga
obligacionninmi kan padrinokunaman VISITA-NA-N-
-PAQ ('visit' - oblig. - 3rd s. poss. - purp.)
'... at the fiestas of the New Year, the
protegés are obliged to visit the sponsors'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-nêis/

1. /-nêis/ 1st pl. incl. poss. (see JL 132 — listed as /-chis/; EM 79-83; MY 56). S loans found in conjunction with /-nêis/ 1st pl. incl. poss. are free forms of the substantive class.

S loans + /-nêis/ ± other Q suffix(es)

- [alumnònêiskunâq̃a] (92) Kay Humberto Luna yachay wasipi ñoqanchisqa, la mayor parte ALUMNO-NCHIS-KUNA-QA ('pupil' - 1st pl. incl. poss. - pl. - emph.) runasimi, campesino 'Here, in Humberto Luna school, we, that is, most of the pupils, speak Quechua and are peasants'
- [antepasàdonêiskúna] (35) Bueno ... chay sitiopi chay ñaupaqsi ANTEPASADO-NCHIS-KUNA ('ancestor' - 1st pl. incl. poss. - pl.) incakuna chay kimsantin qaqakunata qatiya-musqaku 'Well ... in this place they say that in olden times our ancestors, the Incas, herded down these three rocks'
- [kompàdrinêísni] (77) Tioy, tiay, COMPADRE-NCHIS-MI ('godfather' - 1st pl. incl. poss. - aff.) wañurapusqa 'Uncle, aunt, our godfather has died'
- [gobjèrmonêíswan] (67) ... kunanga manañan chay haciendakuna kangañachu chinkapushanmi kay GOBIERNO-NCHIS-WAN ('government' - 1st pl. incl. poss. - 'with') '... and now, with our government, there won't be these farms, they are disappearing'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-nêis/

2. /-nêis/ 1st pl. incl. pres. (see JL 132 — listed as /-chis/; EM 87-89; MY 56). S loans found in conjunction with /-nêis/ 1st pl. incl. pres. are bound forms of the verb stem class.

S loans + /-nêis/ ± other Q suffix(es)

- [aṛeglânêis] (26) ... hinaspa ankayta ARREGLA-NCHIS ('arrange' - 1st pl. incl. pres.) '... and so we arrange it all in this way'
- [atendínêis] (26) Kaypi ñoqanchis ATENDE-NCHIS ('attend' - 1st pl. incl. pres.) en la mejor forma 'We attend to it here in the best way'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-ni/

1. /-ni/ 1st s. pres. (see YL 23-24; EM 87-89; GP 26; MY 56).

S loans found in conjunction with /-ni/ 1st s. pres. are bound forms of the verb stem class.

S loans + /ni/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[almorsani] (8)	... chay runawan <u>AIMORZA-NI</u> ('have lunch' - 1st s. pres.) '... I have lunch with this man'
[amonestani] (89)	... y <u>AMONESTA-NI</u> ('warn' - 1st s. pres.) <u>kaynata</u> '... and in this way I advise you'
[andani] (7)	... <u>ANDA-NI</u> ('walk' - 1st s. pres.) ... <u>estadio-man, Huaranman ... anchayllaman rini</u> '... I walk ... to the stadium, to Huaran ... I go to lots of places'
[asjendinitaq] (85)	... chaymantataq maestroman <u>ASCIENDE-NI-TAQ</u> ('advance' - 1st s. pres. - conn.) '... and then I advanced to being master'
[empleani] (66)	... <u>EMPLEA-NI</u> ('use' - 1st s. pres.) <u>quechuata, runasimita a cada rato chaypiga</u> '... I use Quechua, <u>runasimi</u> , all the time here'
[gastani] (83)	... <u>lliuta GASTA-NI</u> ('spend' - 1st s. pres.) '... I spend a lot'
[gastani] (83)	... <u>anchaykunata GASTA-NI</u> ('spend' - 1st s. pres.) '... I spend all this'
[xurani] (89)	<u>Ari, JURA-NI</u> ('swear' - 1st s. pres.) <u>nispa, contestawan</u> 'Yes, I swear, he says answering me'
[leini] (6)	... chaymanta <u>diariota LEE-NI</u> ('read' - 1st s. pres.) '... and then I read the paper'
[pagani] (83)	<u>PAGA-NI</u> ('pay' - 1st s. pres.) ... <u>masta curaman</u> 'I pay ... more to the priest'
[pagani] (83)	<u>Chay cargo ruwasqaymanta curamanpas PAGA-NI</u> ('pay' - 1st s. pres.) <u>tantota</u> 'Because of sponsoring this, I pay even the priest so much'
[pasani] (7)	<u>PASA-NI</u> ('go out' - 1st s. pres.), <u>lloqsini</u> 'I go out, I walk around'
[rekomendani] (52)	<u>Chaymi ñoqa RECOMENDA-NI</u> ('advise' - 1st s. pres.) <u>alumnokunata wasinkupi rimanankupaq castellanota</u> 'So I advise my pupils to speak Spanish at home'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-ni/

2. /-ni/ euphonic connective used after consonant-final substantives and before personal possessive suffixes and /-yoq/, /-ntin/ or /-nta/. In this corpus it was also found before /-kuna/ and /-npa/ (see YL 27-28; EM 56, 80, 147; GP 28, 58; MY 41). S loans found in conjunction with /-ni/ connective are free forms of the substantive class.

S loans + /-ni/ + other Q suffix(es)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| [almasenñimpi]
(79) | ... <u>hinaspa AIMACEN-NI-N-PI</u> ('store' - conn. - 3rd s. poss. - loc.) <u>askha sara karan</u> '... and so there was a lot of maize in his store' |
| [amistadninkunapas]
(16) | <u>Chay fiestapiqa ... tusuyunku ... AMISTAD-NI-N-KUNA-PAS</u> ('friend' - conn. - 3rd s. poss. - pl. - 'both') <u>parientekunapas</u> 'At this fiesta ... both the friends and relations ... dance' |
| [animálnikuna]
(48) | <u>Y chaypitaq kunan ñoga tiyashani y ANIMAL-NI-Y-KUNA</u> ('animal' - conn. - 1st s. poss. - pl.) <u>qhawaqpaqtaq huj empleadota maskhakuni</u> 'So now I am living here and am looking for an employee to keep an eye on my animals' |
| [awtoridadninkuna]
(20) | <u>Y chaypi runakunataqmi, a lo menos AUTORIDAD-NI-N-KUNA</u> ('authority' - conn. - 3rd s. poss. - pl.) <u>interesta tomanku</u> 'And here the people, at least their authorities take an interest' |
| [bastonnintin]
(78) | <u>Chay tuta ripusqa cocavinintin fierro BASTON-NI-NTIN</u> ('stick' - conn. - 'with') 'So he had gone at night with his food and his iron stick' |
| [bastonninwan]
(78) | <u>Fierro BASTON-NI-N-WAN</u> ('stick' - conn. - 3rd s. poss. - 'with') <u>salvapusqa condenadota</u> 'With his iron stick he rescued the wicked man' |
| [bawlnipi]
(17) | <u>... que pobre wawaymanmi sagesaq wasitapas lliuta BAUL-NI-Y-PI</u> ('trunk' - conn. - 1st s. poss. - loc.) <u>kappas paypaqmi kanga</u> '... I will leave my house, and everything in my trunk, to my poor child, even this will be for him' |
| [kalidadninman]
(18) | <u>... según allpaq CALIDAD-NI-N-MAN</u> ('quality' - conn. - 3rd s. poss. - prop.) '... according to the quality of the soil' |
| [kapitalninkupaq]
(16) | <u>... hinaspa chaypi qolqeta saganku CAPITAL-NI-NKU-PAQ</u> ('capital' - conn. - 3rd pl. poss. - purp.) '... and so they leave the money there as their capital' |
| [kòsasninkunata]
(95) | <u>... haykun mercadota lliu COSAS-NI-N-KUNA-TA</u> ('things' - conn. - 3rd s. poss. - pl. - obj.) |

- rantiq semanantinpaq '... they come to the market to buy many things for the rest of the week'
- [dèklarasjonnipta] (89) Huj casopi huchasapakunataga chaskini DECLARACION-NI-N-TA ('evidence' - conn. - 3rd s. poss. - obj.) amonestaspa 'In this case I receive the offenders, warning them about their evidence'
- [difikułtañinku] (52) ... hinaspa manaña DIFICULTAD-NI-NKU ('difficulty' - conn. - 3rd pl. poss.) kankachu escuelaman o yachay wasiman hamuqtinku '... and so they have no difficulty at school or the yachay wasi'
- [djòsninçis] (87) Chaymanta DIOS-NI-NCHIS ('God' - conn. - 1st pl. incl. poss.) castigota gosqa 'So our God punished them'
- [djòsninçis] (87) Chaymanta chayta milagrota ruwan ... DIOS-NI-NCHIS ('God' - conn. - 1st incl. pl. poss.) ... chay cristianokunapaq 'Then God ... did this miracle ... for these Christians'
- [djòsninçispa] (89) Jurankichu DIOS-NI-NCHIS-PA ('God' - conn. - 1st pl. incl. poss. - poss.) sutinpi? 'Do you swear in the name of our God?'
- [dìsposisjònin- kunáta] (66) ... pero maymantan paykuna yachanku gobierno DISPOSICION-NI-N-KUNA-TA? ('order' - conn. - 3rd s. poss. - pl. - obj.) '... but how do they learn the orders of the government?'
- [edukàsjonniyoq] (82) Ñañaykuna mana pisi EDUCACION-NI-YOQ ('education' - conn. - 'with') ghepapun 'My sisters remain with hardly any education'
- [ensèresnin-kunáta] (73) Chayqa entregapun imaymana ENSERES-NI-N-KUNA-TA ('goods' - conn. - 3rd s. poss. - pl. - obj.) 'And then he hands over all kinds of goods and chattels'
- [òrasninpi] (40) ... sumaqta voluntad trabajayku, cumplishayku HORAS-NI-N-PI ('hours' - conn. - aff. - loc.) '... we work with good will, and complete the hours'
- [xornalnin-kúta] (18) Ripushanku JORNAL-NI-NKU-TA ('daily wage' - conn. 3rd pl. poss. - obj.) chaskiyukuspa, pagota chaskiyukuspa 'They go after having received their day's wage, their pay'
- [obligàsjonniñmi] (16) ... año nuevo fiestakunapiqa ahijadokunaga OBLIGACION-NI-N-MI ('obligation' - conn. - 3rd s. poss. - aff.) kan padrinokunaman visitananpaq '... at the fiestas of the New Year the protegés are obliged to visit the sponsors'
- [obligasjonniñki] (89) ... y amonestani khaynata, OBLIGACION-NI-YKI ('obligation' - conn. - 2nd s. poss.) kay sut'in rimamunaykipaq '...and in this way I advise you of your obligation, so that you speak the truth'

[okupàsjonniŋqa]
(39)

Kay llaqtapiqa lliu runakunaq OCUPACION-NI-N-QA
('occupation' - conn. - 3rd s. poss. - emph.) 'In
this town many people's occupation is agricul-
ture'

[òmibusniŋpi]
(91)

Risqa papa ... cargantin wiraqocha Caparó carro,
OMNIBUS-NI-N-PI ('bus' - conn. - 3rd s. poss. -
loc.) 'I will go with my load of potatoes ...
in Caparó's car, his bus'

[pàrtisjonniŋta]
(73)

... chay qhariq tayta mama entregapun lliuta
PARTICION-NI-N-TA ('possession' - conn. - 3rd s.
poss. - obj.) '... the father and mother of the
man hand over to him all his inheritance'

[patrònnikúna]
(99)

Ñoga hampuni porque hacienda Urquillospi kan,
PATRON-NI-Y-KUNA-Q ('master' - conn. - 1st s. poss.
- pl. - poss.) hacienda 'I have come because
the farm in Urquillos belongs to my masters'

[profesòmnikúna]
(6)

Colegioypi ñoga yachani, lliu PROFESOR-NI-Y-KUNA
('teacher' - conn. - 1st s. poss. - pl.) niwasgan-
kuta 'In school I learn all that the teachers
say to me'

[rexjònniŋtiŋpi]
(86)

Lliu chay REGION-NI-NTIN-PI ('region' - conn. -
'throughout' - loc.) 'There are many throughout
this region'

[sèxsjonniyoq]
(58)

Huj compañera kashan kaypi ñogaq SECCION-NI-YOQ
('section' - conn. - 'with') 'There is this
friend here in my section'

[sitwasjònniŋkúta]
(82)

... kunan qhawarini SITUACION-NI-NKU-TA ('situa-
tion' - conn. - 3rd pl. poss. - obj.) '... now I
am beginning to look at their situation'

[sitwasjònniŋpa]
(82)

... pero sullk'aykunaq SITUACION-NI-NPA ('situa-
tion' - conn. - ? double poss.) qhawaripa
'... but I am looking at the position of the
youngest children'

[sitwasjónni]
(82)

... SITUACION-NI-Y ('SITUATION' - conn. - 1st s.
poss.) sinchi llakilla '... my position is
very sad'

[tèstimonjalniŋta]
(89)

Khaynatan nina runakunata manaraq TESTIMONIAL-
-NI-N-TA ('evidence' - conn. - 3rd s. poss. - obj.)
chaskishaspa 'In this way one must talk to the
people before they give evidence'

[trèduxsjònniŋta]
(43)

... porque mana entendenkuchu manaraq TRADUCCION-
-NI-N-TA ('translation' - conn. - 3rd s. poss. -
obj.) yachankuchu '... because they don't under-
stand, and they don't know the translation yet'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-nki/

/-nki/ 2nd s. pres. (see YL 24; EM 88-89; GP 26; MY 56-57). S loans found in conjunction with /-nki/ are bound forms of the verb stem class.

S loans + /-nki/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[eskəpənkiñăçu] (71)	... ahora si, mana <u>ESCAPA-NKI-ÑA-CHU</u> ('escape' - 2nd s. pres. - 'now' - neg.) '... now then, now you won't escape'
[xùrənkiîu] (89)	<u>JURA-NKI-CHU</u> ('swear' - 2nd s. pres. - interrog.) <u>Diosninchispa sutinpi?</u> 'Do you swear in the name of our God?'
[tařdăŋki] (6)	<u>Chaypi hayq'a hora TARDA-NKI?</u> ('stay' - 2nd s. pres.) 'How long do you stay there?'
[vəlŋkiîu] (79)	... mana <u>VALE-NKI-CHU</u> ('be worth' - 2nd s. pres. - neg.) '... you are not worth anything'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-nku/

1. /-nku/ 3rd pl. poss. (see YL 24-25; EM 87-89; GP 26; MY 56).

S loans found in conjunction with /-nku/ 3rd pl. poss. are free forms of the substantive class, with the exception of contentonkupaq, where the loan is an adjective, and perhaps the substantive contentamiento was meant, in which case /-nku/ is the 3rd pl. poss.

S loans + /-nku/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[əsuntòŋkumănta] (88)	... ñoga willani abogadokunaman <u>ASUNTO-NKU-MANTA</u> ('affair' - 3rd pl. poss. - 'about' - '... I inform the lawyers about their affairs')
[kontèntonkúpae] (16)	<u>Chay sumaq kausaypin kausanku allinta CONTENTO-NKU-PAQ</u> ('content' - ? 3rd pl. poss. - purp.) <u>ahijadopas padrinokunapas</u> 'Both the protégés and the sponsors live very happily and contentedly'
[kreŋsjăŋku] (35)	<u>Ñaupaq chay CREENCIA-NKU</u> ('belief' - 3rd pl. poss.) <u>kasqa</u> 'From ancient times there have been their beliefs'
[kreèŋsjăŋkúman] (50)	<u>Pero hay veces caentaqmi chay CREENCIA-NKU-MAN</u> ('belief' - 3rd pl. poss. - prop.) 'But sometimes he falls into these beliefs'

[kultivonkúpaɛ]
(33)

... imaynatachá wanuwan churakun llank'asqanku-
paɛ CULTIVO-NKU-PAQ ('crop' - 3rd pl. poss. -
purp.) '... how to put on fertilizer for their
work and crops'

[ɛstúdjonkúpi]
(48)

... porque imarayku wawakuna ESTUDIO-NKU-PI
('study' - 3rd pl. poss. - loc.) kaspá mana
wasipi kanchu '... for the children are not at
home because of their studies'

[fjɛstáŋku]
(16)

Matrimonioyoqtaɛ chay matrimonio p'unchayta
FIESTA-NKU ('festival' - 3rd pl. poss.) 'They
celebrate the day of the wedding with the bride
and groom'

[gústonkúpaɛ]
(16)

Chay fiestapiqa ... tomayunku GUSTO-NKU-PAQ
('pleasure' - 3rd pl. poss. - purp.) 'At this
fiesta ... they drink as much as they please'

[idjòmɛŋkúpi]
(89)

Chaymi ñogayku kaypi chaskiyku runakunata
IDIOMA-NKU-PI ('language' - 3rd pl. poss. - loc.)
'Thus we receive the people in their own
language'

[mamɛŋku]
(73)

Chay tayta MAMA-NKU ('mother' - 3rd pl. poss.)
qosqanwan mana ima sufrimientowan llank'ayta
qallarinku 'With what their parents have given
them, they can begin to work with no hardship'

[mamɛŋkuçáqa]
(76)

Hinaspa ruwarapusqa MAMA-NKU-CHA-QA ('mother' -
3rd pl. poss. - dim. - emph.) 'And so their
grandmother made it'

[òvɛxɛŋkúta]
(34)

... imaynachá chay vacankuta, OVEJA-NKU-TA
('sheep' - 3rd pl. poss. - obj.) imaynatachá
cuidanku '... I don't know how they look after
their cows and their sheep'

[pònçonkúta]
(93)

... paykunan PONCHO-NKU-TA ('cloak' - 3rd pl.
poss. - obj.) aparikunku '... these people wear
their ponchos'

[swɛrtɛŋkúça]
(50)

Pero hay veces chay difuntokunamantapas caenmi
creesqankuman hina chayan tuta purispanku o
SUERTE-NKU-CHA ('fortune' - 3rd pl. poss. - dim.)
compañan (sic) 'But sometimes they even fall
into beliefs about the dead, that they walk
about at night, according to the fortune that
goes with them'

[trɛbaxonkúta]
(50)

... según TRABAJO-NKU-TA ('work' - 3rd pl. poss.
- obj.) '... according to their work'

[wàkɛŋkúta]
(34)

... imaynachá chay VACA-NKU-TA ('cow' - 3rd pl.
poss. - obj.), ovejanakuta imaynatachá cuidanku
'... I don't know how they look after their
cows and sheep'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-nku/

2. /-nku/ 3rd pl. pres. (see YL 24-25; EM 88-89; GP 26; MY 56-57).

S loans found in conjunction with /-nku/ 3rd pl. pres. are bound forms of the verb stem class with the exception of ofrendanku, where the substantive ofrenda has been used instead of the verb stem ofrece-, or ofrendanku is the object of an unexpressed verb, and /-nku/ is the 3rd pl. poss.

S loans + /-nku/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[akòstumbrānku] (16)	<u>Hagay San Salvador ladopiga ACOSTUMBRA-NKU</u> ('have custom' - 3rd pl. pres.) <u>saramanta pacha trigomanta ... habasman ... saganku</u> 'Over by San Salvador they have the custom of giving ... everything from maize and wheat ... to beans'
[akòstumbrānku] (23)	<u>... la mayoría mama taytanku runasimta ACOSTUMBRA-NKU</u> ('be used to' - 3rd pl. pres.) '... most of their fathers and mothers are used to (speaking) Quechua'
[akòstumbrānku] (72)	<u>Hagay ladopi ACOSTUMBRA-NKU</u> ('be used to' - 3rd pl. pres.) <u>q'ala familiakuna fiestata t'inkanku vacakunata</u> 'Over there every family has the custom of pouring out a libation on the cattle at the fiesta'
[aṛeglānku] (26)	<u>Hujtan chaypi ARREGLA-NKU</u> ('arrange' - 3rd pl. pres.) 'They arrange this again'
[aṛeglānku] (73)	<u>... lliu vecinokuna ARREGLA-NKU</u> ('arrange' - 3rd pl. pres.) <u>wasita</u> '... many of the neighbours arrange the house'
[avansānku] (13)	<u>... despaciolla muchhanku, mana uschayllachu AVANZA-NKU</u> ('get on' - 3rd pl. pres.) '... they strip the cobs of maize very slowly, they don't get on very fast'
[kambjānku] (23)	<u>... chakata CAMBIA-NKU</u> ('change' - 3rd pl. pres.) '... they are changing the bridge'
[kambjānku] (27)	<u>Hinaspa hay q'arpata</u> (sic: standard Q is k'ajrata) <u>mana qolqewanchu rantinku, CAMBIA-NKU</u> ('change' - 3rd pl. pres.) 'So they don't buy this pottery with money, they barter'
[kambjānku] (52)	<u>... chaywanmi CAMBIA-NKU</u> ('change' - 3rd pl. pres.) <u>chay k'ajrakunata</u> '... and they barter these pots for them'

[kařgãŋku]
(52)

Hinaspan apapunku punakunaman mulapi asnopi
CARGA-NKU ('load' - 3rd pl. pres.) 'Then they
carry them back to the heights loaded on mules
and donkeys'

[kõnfesãŋku]
(89)

Askha casokunapi carcelman churani porque
huchata CONFESA-NKU ('confess' - 3rd pl. pres.)
'In many cases I put them in prison because they
confess their guilt'

[kõŋsumĩŋku]
(41)

... pero generalmente chay cocataga kay llaqta-
kunallapi astawan CONSUMI-NKU ('take' - 3rd pl.
pres.) '... but on the whole they use this coca
much more in these villages'

[kõsečãŋku]
(23)

... mayo killapi COSECHA-NKU ('harvest' - 3rd pl.
pres.) '... they harvest in the month of May'

[kõsečãŋku]
(23)

... anchayna maneramanta COSECHA-NKU ('harvest'
3rd pl. pres.) sarata chaypi '... they harvest
the maize by many methods here'

[kwĩđãŋku]
(34)

... imaynachã chay vacankuta, ovejankuta imayna-
tachã CUIDA-NKU ('look after' - 3rd pl. pres.)
'I don't know how they look after their cows and
their sheep'

[dominãŋkurãčũ]
(52)

Kanmi chicakuna mana allinta DOMINA-NKU-RAQ-CHU
('master' - 3rd pl. pres. - 'yet' - neg.) castella-
nota 'There are girls who still haven't mastered
Spanish well'

[ẽntẽdĩŋkũũ]
(43)

A veces runasimipi rimasqaykuta mana ENTENDE-
-NKU-CHU ('understand' - 3rd pl. pres. - neg.)
wakin wiraqochakuna 'Sometimes the other men
don't know what we are saying in Quechua'

[ẽntẽdĩŋkũũ]
(43)

... porque mana ENTENDE-NKU-CHU ('understand' -
3rd pl. pres. - neg.) manaraq traduccionninta
yachankuchu '... because they don't understand,
and they don't know the translation yet'

[ẽntẽdĩŋkũũ]
(89)

... porque manataq ENTENDE-NKU-CHU ('understand -
3rd pl. pres. - neg.) castellanota '... because
they don't understand Spanish'

[eskribĩŋkũpas]
(52)

... chaytaqmi ESCRIBI-NKU-PAS ('write' - 3rd pl.
pres. - 'both') leenkupas runasimipi '... and
so they both write and read in Quechua'

[ẽxsplicãŋku]
(52)

... chayraqmi castellanopi EXPLICA-NKU ('ex-
plain' - 3rd pl. pres.) leccionkunatapã
'... and only lately do they explain the
lessons in Spanish'

[fẽstexãŋku]
(23)

Chayta tusuqkuna rin ... FESTEJA-NKU ('cele-
brate' - 3rd pl. pres.) semanantin 'The dan-
cers go there ... and celebrate throughout the
week'

[fẽstexãŋku]
(60)

... sapa watanmi FESTEJA-NKU ('celebrate' - 3rd
pl. pres.) '... they celebrate every year'

- [fixáŋku]
(16) Chaypin padriño aceptáŋtin, huj p'unchayta FIJA-NKU ('decide' - 3rd pl. pres.) 'The sponsor accepts this and they decide on the day'
- [gaŋáŋku]
(59) Paykunataqmi GANA-NKU ('earn' - 3rd pl. pres.) 'These men earn ... eight soles a day'
- [gaŋáŋku]
(59) Paykunataqmi GANA-NKU ('earn' - 3rd pl. pres.) mana hornaltachu sino hurk'allata 'These men don't earn a daily wage, but just a small tip'
- [gaŋáŋku]
(95) ... allinta chay negociota paymuna qolqeta GANAN-NKU ('earn' - wrd pl. pres.) '... with this good business, they earn money'
- [gastáŋku]
(2) ... imaymana gastota ruwanku, GASTA-NKU ('spend' - 3rd pl. pres.) mil sol; veintidos milta '... they have all sorts of expenses, they spend a thousand soles, twenty-two thousand soles'
- [leɪŋkúpas]
(52) ... chaytaqmi escribinkupas LEE-NKU-PAS ('read' - 3rd pl. pres. - 'and') runasimipi '... an so they both write and read in Quechua'
- [limpjáŋku]
(33) ... LIMPIA-NKU ('clean' - wrd pl. pres.) chajrata '... they clean the field'
- [ofrendáŋku]
(96) Chaykunawanmi paykuna OFRENDA-NKU ('offering' - 3rd pl. pres.) 'With these they make their offering'
- [pagáŋku]
(20) ... PAGA-NKU ('pay' - 3rd pl. pres.) impuestokunata productokunamanta '... they pay taxes on their products'
- [pasáŋku]
(79) Huj llaqtaman chayaspa chay PASA-NKU ('pass through' - 3rd pl. pres.) chay llaqtata 'Having arrived at this village, they passed on to another village'
- [prèferiŋku]
(41) Chayta Huancayo llaqtaman astawan PREFERI-NKU ('prefer' - 3rd pl. pres.) 'They prefer this more in the town of Huancayo'
- [keáŋku]
(26) ... chaypin allinpi QUEDA-NKU ('remain' - 3rd pl. pres.) '... so they are still well there'
- [rèsitáŋku]
(3) Llapachan chikakuna tusunku, takinkum chaymanta RECITA-NKU ('recite' - 3rd pl. pres.) 'All the girls dance, sing, and then recite'
- [sentáŋku]
(26) Hujtan chaypi arreglanku, chayqa actapi SENTA-NKU ('set down' - 3rd pl. pres.) 'They arrange this again, and they set it down in the documents'
- [tèndaláŋku]
(23) ... chayman TENDALA-NKU ('collect in tendal' - 3rd pl. pres.) sarata '... there they collect the maize in the tendal'
- [tersáŋku]
(18) ... chay TERSA-NKU ('make tercios' - 3rd pl. pres.) wankay sutin chay '... they make tercios of this; this is called "wankay"'

- [tomáŋku]
(5) Chaymantaga TOMA-NKU ('drink' - 3rd pl. pres.)
'And then they drink'
- [tomáŋku]
(13) ... las nueve pitagmi teta TOMA-NKU ('drink' - 3rd pl. pres.) '... and at nine o'clock they drink tea'
- [tomáŋku]
(14) ... tusunku, TOMA-NKU ('drink' - 3rd pl. pres.),
machanku '... they dance and drink, they get drunk'
- [tomáŋku]
(18) ... wasipi ahata TOMA-NKU ('drink' - 3rd pl. pres.)
tragota tomanku '... they drink maize beer and alcohol at home'
- [tomáŋku]
(20) ... a lo menos autoridadninkuna interesta TOMA-NKU ('take' - 3rd pl. pres.) '... at least their authorities take an interest'
- [tomáŋku]
(23) Chaypi TOMANKU masta ... aghata masta TOMA-NKU
('drink' - 3rd pl. pres.) 'Here they drink more ... they drink more maize beer'
- [tomáŋku]
(72) ... chay fiestamantataq ichaga aghata TOMA-NKU
('drink' - 3rd pl. pres.) '... so they drink maize beer because of the fiesta'
- [tomáŋku]
(73) ... aghata askhata TOMA-NKU ('drink' - 3rd pl. pres.) tragota tomanku askhata '... they drink a lot of maize beer, they drink a lot of alcohol'
- [usáŋku]
(52) ... chaymi paykunaga USA-NKU ('use' - 3rd pl. pres.) waykunankupaq '... so they use this for cooking'
- [vendíŋku]
(15) Chayqa haciendakunapas vacakunayocpas pisitafá
VENDE-NKU ('sell' - 3rd pl. pres.) 'So even the farms with cattle sell very little'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-nta/

/-nta/ transitive, glossed 'through, throughout, during, in the course of' (see EM 56, 237; GP 99 — though this does not appear to be the same usage, and there is no other discussion of this particle). S loans found in conjunction with /-nta/ are free forms of the substantive class.

S loans + /-nta/ ± other Q suffix(es)

- [lãdɔntãpas]
(49) Hacay LADO-NTA-PAS ('side' - 'through' - 'even')
riniyã Kanchakanchata 'I even go through to the other side to Kanchakancha'

[tardínta]	<u>Tukuytaqa TARDE-NTA</u> ('evening' - 'through') ...
(2)	<u>fuegos artificialeskunata ... ruwanku</u> 'Throughout the evening ... they let off ... fireworks'
[tardínta]	<u>Chay tukuytataqmi TARDE-NTA</u> ('evening' - 'through')
(18)	<u>... samapunku</u> 'They rest ... at the end of the afternoon'
[tardíntaqa]	<u>Chaymanta TARDE-NTA-QA</u> ('afternoon' - 'through'
(95)	- emph.) <u>paseaq rini wauqekunawan</u> 'Then during the afternoon I go walking with my brothers'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-ntin/

/-ntin/ accompaniment, glossed 'with, together with' (see EM 57; GP 58-59; MY 55 — /-ntin/ is here analysed into /-nti/ + /-n/ emphatic).

S loans found in conjunction with /-ntin/ are free forms of the substantive class.

S loans + /-ntin/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[asnóntin]	<u>Tutallamanta ASNO-NTIN</u> ('donkey' - 'with') <u>purispa</u>
(49)	<u>tardeta kutiyanpuyku</u> 'Travelling at dawn with the donkey, we return late'
[bänderántin]	<u>... chaymantataq qhatamanta urayamunku, tusuyus-</u>
(72)	<u>pa, q'ala BANDERA-NTIN</u> ('flag' - 'with') '... and then they come down from the hill dancing, with all their flags'
[kargántin]	<u>... chayqa kutiyamuni papa CARGA-NTIN</u> ('load' -
(49)	'with') '... then I go back with my load of potatoes'
[kargántin]	<u>Risqa papa ... CARGA-NTIN</u> ('load' - 'with')
(91)	<u>wiragocha Caparó carro, omnibushinpi</u> 'I will go with my load of potatoes ... in Caparó's car, his bus'
[servesántin]	<u>Chay padrino munekuypipas gastoraqmi ruwakun</u>
(16)	<u>porque haykun gowe kankantin CERVEZA-NTIN</u> ('beer' - 'with'), <u>aghantin</u> 'To make the sponsor accept they spend even more money, because they must come with roast guinea-pig, beer and maize beer'
[kòsinántin]	<u>... altochapi kimsa cuartokuna, COCINA-NTIN</u>
(68)	('kitchen' - 'with') <u>koshan</u> '... upstairs there are three rooms together with a kitchen'

[famìljantínta] (83)	<u>... así es que pusamuni lliu FAMILIA-NTIN-TA</u> ('family' - 'with' - obj.) <u>q'alata</u> '... so that I bring all the family'
[mònterántin] (93)	<u>... ima sumaq pullirakunantin, lliqllantin,</u> <u>MONTERA-NTIN</u> ('hat' - 'with') '... how beautiful (they are) with their skirts and shawls and hats'
[mònterantínta] (95)	<u>Indiakunaga hamunku allin vestisqa ... munay</u> <u>MONTERA-NTIN-TA</u> ('hat' - 'with' - obj.) 'The Indian women come, well dressed ... with their pretty hats'
[mùnduptinpi] (39)	<u>Aswan allintan llank'anku sumaq sarata MUNDO-</u> <u>-NTIN-PI</u> ('world' - 'throughout' - loc.) 'They produce the best maize in the world'
[pàrexántin] (72)	<u>Hinaspa PAREJA-NTIN</u> ('partner' - 'with') <u>haykunku</u> 'Then the couples enter'
[polèrantínta] (95)	<u>Indiakunaga hamunku allin vestisqa, askha</u> <u>POLLERA-NTIN-TA</u> ('skirt' - 'with' - obj.) 'The Indian women come, well dressed, and with many skirts'
[rèatantínta] (77)	<u>Hinasparmi asno seqachipun REATA-NTIN-TA</u> ('reins' - 'with' - obj.) <u>atoqnintinta viajerokunaman</u> 'Then the donkey took the reins and the fox to the travellers'
[rexántin] (22)	<u>Huj runa vacawan purisqa tajllantin llipin</u> <u>REJA-NTIN</u> ('implement' - 'with') 'This man went out with his cow and his foot-plough and his ploughshare'
[sèmanántin] (2)	<u>Chayqa SEMANA-NTIN</u> ('week' - 'during') <u>muyumun</u> <u>procesión</u> 'So the procession goes round during the week'
[sèmanántin] (23)	<u>Chayta tusuckuna rin ... festejanku SEMANA-NTIN</u> ('week' - 'during') 'The dancers go there ... and celebrate throughout the week'
[sèmanantínpae] (81)	<u>... rantinku papata, chuñuta, morayata lliu</u> <u>SEMANA-NTIN-PAQ</u> ('week' - 'throughout' - purp.) '... they buy potatoes, <u>chuñu</u> and <u>moraya</u> for the whole week'
[sèmanantínpae] (95)	<u>... lliu cosasninkunata rantiq SEMANA-NTIN-PAQ</u> ('week' - 'during' - purp.) '... in order to buy many things for the rest of the week'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-ña/

/-ña/ temporal, glossed variously 'already, now, no longer (in negative statements), yet (in questions)' (see YL 39; JL 695-696; EM 320; GP 80; MY 64). S loans found in conjunction with /-na/ are free and bound forms of the substantive, verb stem, adjective and adverb classes.

S loans + /-na/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[antésña] (61)	<u>ANTES-ÑA</u> ('before' - 'already') hamuq kani <u>llank'apakua</u> (I had already come to work'
[asnoñataq] (79)	<u>Chayman punkuta llogsirushactin, ASNO-ÑA-TAQ</u> ('donkey' - 'already' - conn.) <u>llogsiramusqa</u> 'And then as he was going through the door, the donkey went through before him'
[kuraññataq] (78)	<u>Chay CURA-ÑA-TAQ</u> ('priest' - 'now' - conn.) <u>escuelaman churasqa escuelapiqa uña ukukuchata</u> 'And now the priest sent him to school, sent the baby bear to school' 1
[djésña] (42)	<u>... kunan kashani seis o siete meses así ...</u> <u>DIEZ-ÑA</u> ('ten' - 'already') kachun '... now I have been here six or seven months ... it must be ten already'
[ladóñan] (49)	<u>Kanchakanchaga haqay LADO-ÑA-N</u> ('side' - 'already' - emph.) <u>o haqay Qanqan punaq LADOÑAN</u> 'Kanchakancha is over on the other side, or on the other side of the heights of Qanqan'
[mjèrkolestáña] (2)	<u>Lunes, martes, MIERCOLES-TA-ÑA</u> ('Wednesday' - 'now') <u>procesión llogsimun</u> 'Now on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday the procession goes out'
[mismoñachu] (60)	<u>... mana lo MISMO-ÑA-CHU</u> ('same' - 'before' - neg.) <u>jaranapas kapuñachu</u> '.... even the celebrations aren't the same as before'
[pomposoñachu] (1)	<u>... manaña antes hina POMPOSO-ÑA-CHU</u> ('solemn' - 'before' - neg.) '... now it's not solemn like it used to be'
[ventañan] (15)	<u>Chayqa kunanga poca VENTA-ÑA-N</u> ('sale' - 'now' - aff.) <u>ganadokunapag</u> 'But now there is little sale for cattle'

SPANISH LOAN /.....

1. See the Introduction to the Corpus, page 120.

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-pa/

/-pa/ possessive used after consonant-final substantives, pronouns or verb infinitives, to indicate that they are possessors. The alternative form /-q/ is used after vowel-final substantives or pronouns (see p. 225) (see YL 28 — in CP the form /-qpa/ occurs after vowels; JL 719; EM 54; GP 40; MY 60). S loans found in conjunction with /-pa/ are free forms of the substantive class.

S loans + /-pa/ ± other Q suffix(es)

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| [karménpa]
(19) | <u>Mama CARMEN-PA</u> ('Carmen' - poss.) <u>dian p'unchaymi chunka soqtayog p'unchaypi</u> 'The day of the Virgin Carmen is the sixteenth' |
| [djóspa]
(30) | <u>... chaypi santa misata mast'arimuspan DIOS-PA</u> ('God' - poss.) '... here he celebrates God's holy mass.' |
| [djóspa]
(47) | <u>Ñoga hamurgani kay misión haciendata astawan DIOS-PA</u> ('God' - poss.) <u>siminta yachanayrayku</u> 'I came to this mission farm to learn more of God's word' |
| [djóspa]
(63) | <u>...y astawanga DIOS-PA</u> ('God' - poss.) <u>siminta parlanaypaq, yachanaypaq</u> '... and to speak and learn more of God's word' |
| [galvéspa]
(23) | <u>... señora Rosa GALVEZ-PA</u> ('Galvéz' - poss.) <u>haciendan</u> '... the farm (belongs to) the señora Rosa Galvéz' |
| [xúdisjálpa]
(31) | <u>... kay ley orgánica del poder JUDICIAL-PA</u> ('judicial' - poss.) <u>churasgan</u> '... this organic law of the judicial power ordains it' |
| [xwéspa]
(31) | <u>... jatun JUEZ-PA</u> ('judge' - poss.) <u>kamachikamusqanta hunt'akunankupaq</u> '... for the carrying out of the judge's orders' |
| [léipa]
(31) | <u>Chay ñutu juicio kuna hasta piscoa warankaq taripasganpi allincha chayta atiyku LEY-PA</u> ('law' - poss.) <u>kamachikusqanta hunt'aspa</u> 'According to the law we can always arrange small law-suits to the value of 5,000 soles' |
| [léipa]
(36) | <u>Huj anotasqa kaqtinmi gokun constanciata LEY-PA</u> ('law' - poss.) <u>kamachikusqanta hunt'aspa</u> 'When this has been recorded, the certificate is handed over according to the law' |

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-paq/

/-paq/ purposive, 'for, in order to' (see YL 29; JL 725; EM 55; GP 42; MY 60-61). S loans found in conjunction with /-paq/ are free forms of the substantive or adjective classes with the untranslatable exception of qué talpaq.

S loans + /-paq/ ± other Q suffix(es)

- [agràrjápæ] (67) ... porque llapan hacendadokuna manaraq llapan allpantachu gonku Reforma AGRARIA-PAQ ('Agrarian' - purp.) '... because not all the farmers have yet ceded all their land to the Agrarian Reform'
- [àlmwersúpæ] (46) ... AIMUERZO-PAQ ('lunch' - purp.) chayayku '... we arrived for lunch'
- [àlmwersópæ] (46) ... puririyku AIMUERZO-PAQ ('lunch' - purp.) '... we started to go for lunch'
- [asuntápæ] (55) Chay kunanga p'achakunata virgen ASUNTA-PAQ ('Asunta' - purp.) 'Now we (give) clothes for the Virgin Asunta'
- [estadúpæ] (86) Sapa killa golgeta chaypi ESTADO-PAQ ('state' - purp.) golqechayku 'Every month we collect the money here for the state'
- [fajnápæ] (59) Bueno, FAENA-PAQ ('communal work' - purp.) ñoqa habilitachimuni ... soqta runata 'Well, I provide ... six men for the communal work'
- [madrinápæqa] (16) Chaypaqmi qhawana padrinopaq MADRINA-PAQ-QA ('sponsor' - purp. - emph.) kuraq personakunata 'To choose the male sponsor and female sponsor, you have to examine older people'
- [mesápæ] (68) Kusgamanta mikhuopas kayku MESA-PAQ ('table' - purp.) waykusqaykuta paykunatawan mikhuchiq kayku 'We used to sit together and make the others eat what was cooked at the table'
- [padrinópæ] (16) Chaypaqmi qhawana PADRINO-PAQ ('sponsor' - purp.) madrinapaqqa kuraq personakunata 'To choose the male sponsor and female sponsor, you have to examine older people'
- [padrinópæ] (16) Chaytan maskhakuna padrinopaqqa kuraq PADRINO-PAQ ('sponsor' - purp.) ara padrinopaopas 'They have to be sought as the senior sponsor, and the altar sponsor'

[pàdrinopápas] (16)	<u>Chaytan maskhakuna padrinopagqa kuraq padrinopag ara PADRINO-PAQ-PAS</u> ('sponsor' - purp. - 'even') 'They have to be sought as the senior sponsor and the altar sponsor'
[pàdrinopáqqa] (16)	<u>Chaytan maskhakuna PADRINO-PAQ-QA</u> ('sponsor' - purp. - emph.) <u>kuraq padrinopag ara padrinopapas</u> 'They have to be sought as the senior sponsor and the altar sponsor'
[pròsesjónpae] (59)	<u>... sinoqa descansokunallataña watanku PROCESION-PAQ</u> ('procession' - purp.) '....but now they set up small altars for the procession'
[rèpolópaq] (67)	<u>... ima clase wanutachus churana, REPOLLO-PAQ</u> ('cabbage' - purp.) <u>ima clase wanutachus churana</u> '... what kind of fertilizer has to be put on, what kind of fertilizer has to be put on for cabbage'
[rĩñónpae] (39)	<u>Huj hatun piscinan kan, baño Minas Moqo sutiyoq, RINON-PAQ</u> ('kidney' - purp.) <u>warmikuna onqovnin-paq especialmente autorizasqa</u> 'There is this big pool, called the bath of Minas Moqo, specially recommended for the kidneys and women's diseases'
[tálpae] (17)	<u>Hinaspa mana munanchu, y todavía a ver qué TAL-PAQ</u> ('what' - purp.) <u>mala fetaq mamay karan</u> 'But she didn't want to, and look how untrustworthy my mother was'
[ventápaq] (91)	<u>Hujqa warmita suplicakuni ... gowi apamunawan-paq, pipiyan waykunaypaq, VENTA-PAQ</u> ('sale' - purp.) 'I ask this woman ... to bring me guinea-pigs, for me to cook <u>pipiyan</u> to sell'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-pas/

/-pas/ indefinite, variously glossed 'even, too, also, both ... and' but is often untranslatable. In conjunction with e.g. pi 'who', ima 'what' denotes indefiniteness rather than interrogation — pipas 'whoever', imapas 'whatever'. S loans found in conjunction with /-pas/ are free forms of the substantive and adjective classes.

S loans + /-pas/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[àixadópas] (16)	<u>Chay sumaq kausaypin kausanku allinta contenton-kupaq AHIJADO-PAS</u> ('protégé' - 'both') <u>padrinokunapas</u> 'Both the protégés and the sponsors'
---------------------	--

- live very happily and contentedly'
- [ànimálpas]
(61) Después huj ANIMAL-PAS ('animal' - 'even')
llank'ao nisgalla wañullantaq 'After, even
this animal, called a work animal, died'
- [kurápas]
(16) ... señor CURA-PAS ('priest' - 'and') iglesiapi
misapi wajyakamun casarakukuna sutinta
'... in the church at mass the priest gives out
the names of those who are to be married'
- [frutápas]
(61) ... huj imapas FRUTA-PAS ('fruit' - 'even')
kashan consuelolla, mana imapas pensión kanchu
'... even this fruit is some comfort, as there
is no fruit provided'
- [kwestjónpas]
(60) ... kunanga chay CUESTION-PAS ('question' -
'even') mana kapunchu '... and now there is
not even any question of it'
- [formápas]
(88) Chaymanta manan rimay atiqtin ñoga compendi-
chini jueza imayna FORMA-PAS ('form' - 'what-
ever') rimashan 'And so he can't speak, and
I make the judge understand whatever it is he
is saying'
- [gòbjernópas]
(33) ... porque desarrollo comunalpiga GOBIERNO-PAS
('government' - 'even') churanapunin partenman-
taga '... because in community development,
even the government ought to play its part'
- [gòbjernópas]
(40) Kunan actual allin kashayku ñogaykupas GOBIERNO-
-PAS ('government' - 'and') allinta atiendewasha-
nku 'Now at the moment we are fine, and the
government is dealing well with us'
- [xàranápas]
(60) ... mana lo mismoñachu JARANA-PAS ('celebrations'
- 'even') kapuñachu '... even the celebra-
tions aren't the same as before'
- [màdrinápas]
(16) Chayqa padrinopas MADRINA-PAS ('female sponsor'
- 'and') siempre regalowanpuni 'Then both the
male and the female sponsors always (come) with
a present'
- [pàdrinópas]
(16) Chayqa PADRINO-PAS ('male sponsor' - 'both')
madrinapas siempre regalowanpuni 'Then both
the male and the female sponsors always (come)
with a present'
- [pàdrinópas]
(16) Chaymi PADRINO-PAS ('sponsor' - 'even') contento
kausan 'So the sponsor lives happily'
- [pobrípas]
(1) POBRE-PAS ('poor' - 'even') chaypi imata vendes-
pallapas allintan negociota ruwanku 'Even the
poor sell all kinds of things and do good
business'
- [profesorápas]
(10) ... PROFESORA-PAS ('teacher' - 'even') urmayapun
iskay gradata seqaspa '... even a teacher
fell down two steps as she was going up'

[profesórpaş]
(66)

Pero gobierno kamachikamushan kunan manan hui profesorakuna o maygen PROFESOR-PAS ('teacher' - 'even') mana quechua rimagqa kanmanchu 'But the government is now ordering that there should be no women teachers and not even men teachers who cannot speak Quechua'

[wakápaş]
(22)

Rikhurisqa gorimun tukuspa VACA-PAS ('cow' - 'both') runapas tajllapas 'Both the cow and the man and his plough reappeared, turned into gold'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-pi/

/-pi/ locative, may refer to time or place (see YL 29; JL 748; EM 56; GP 40; MY 61). S loans found in conjunction with /-pi/ are free forms of the substantive and adjective classes.

S loans + /-pi/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[abríłpi]
(3)

Ñoga escuela ta haykuspa primer p'unchayta ABRIL-PI ('April' - loc.) haykuspa 'I come to school, I come on the first of April'

[abríłpi]
(5)

ABRIL-PI ('April' - loc.) gallarin cosecha, sara ta kuchunku 'In April the harvest begins, they cut the maize'

[axtápi]
(26)

Hujtan chaypi arreglanku chayqa ACTA-PI ('minutes' - loc.) sentanku 'They arrange this again and they set it down in the documents'

[agostópi]
(2)

Fiesta Calcapi hamun AGOSTO-PI ('August' - loc.) 'The fiesta of Calca falls in August'

[agostópi]
(55)

Kunan AGOSTO-PI ('August' - loc.) fiesta karan 'Now this fiesta was in August'

[agostópi]
(59)

Llaqta fiesta rurakun chunka piskayoo p'unchay AGOSTO-PI ('August' - loc.) 'The village fiesta takes place on the 15th of August'

[agostópi]
(60)

Quince de AGOSTO-PI ('August' - loc.) gallarin 'It begins on August 15th'

[agòstopíqə]
(1)

Chunka piskayoo AGOSTO-PI-QA ('August' - loc. - emph.) hui gran fiestan kaypi 'On the 15th of August there is this big fiesta here'

- [agr̥ikulturápi]
(39) Kay llaqtapiqa lliu runakunaq ocupacionninga AGRICULTURA-PI ('agriculture' - loc.) 'In this town many people's occupation is agriculture'
- [andápi]
(2) ... chunka yaqa chunka santokuna ANDA-PI ('litter' - loc.) llogsimun '... ten, about ten saints come out on litters'
- [ap̥uropípas]
(14) Imapas suceedtin ima ima APURO-PI-PAS ('trouble' - loc. - 'any') kaqtinkupas paykuna yanapana 'When it happens that they are in any trouble they are there to help'
- [ar̥pápi]
(23) Chaypi ch'itawankunata ARPA-PI ('harp' - 'on') orquestapi tocaspa chaypi tusunku 'Here while they play ? on the harp and with an orchestra, they dance'
- [ar̥óspi]
(86) Qolge mañakusgankuta Banco de Fomento Agropecuariomanta ARROZ-PI ('rice' - loc.) ... arroz producisgankupi kutichipunku 'They return their loans from the Agrarian Development Bank in rice ... in their rice production'
- [asnópi]
(49) Kimsa ASNO-PI ('donkey' - loc.) rini cambiakuq 'I go and barter with three donkeys'
- [asnópi]
(52) Hinaspa apapunku punakunaman mulapi ASNO-PI ('donkey' - loc.) carganku 'Then they carry them back to the heights, loaded on mules and donkeys'
- [bandápi]
(2) ... BANDA-PI ('band' - loc.) procesión muyumun '... the procession goes round with the band'
- [bandápi]
(99) ... imaymana mercaderiakuna, chifleriakuna, bailarinkuna BANDA-PI ('band' - loc.) chaypi kan '... there are all kinds of merchandise and knick-knacks and dancers here with the band'
- [kabálópi]
(76) Huj wiraqocha qhepanta, chaulanchan, chaulanchan nispa haykumushasqa CABALLO-PI ('horse' - loc.) 'Behind this man he came on horseback with the noise of spurs'
- [kalípi]
(7) CALLE-PI ('street' - loc.) imata ruwanki? 'What do you do in the street?'
- [kamálpi]
(15) ... vacantataq kaypi nak'anku CAMAL-PI ('slaughter-house' - loc.) '... and they kill his cows here in the slaughter-house'
- [kampópi]
(24) Pampachapi tiyanku chajra ukhupi CAMPO-PI ('country' - loc.) karu ukhupiña 'They live on the plain, in the middle of a field, in the country far from the centre'
- [kampópi]
(67) ... CAMPO-PI ('country' - loc.) tiyaqkuna '... the country-dwellers'

- [kəmpopitáəmi]
(67) ... chay CAMPO-PI-TAQ-MI ('country' - loc. - conn. - emph.) allinta allpata ruruchispa '... and in the country they make the soil very productive'
- [kəntidáəspi]
(20) Campesinokuna cafeta llank'anku CANTIDADES-PI ('quantities' - loc.) 'The peasants produce coffee in bulk'
- [kařgúpi]
(83) Chay nueve decimostaraqmi gastaq kayku chay CARGO-PI ('patronage' - loc.) 'We even spent these nine décimos on this patronage'
- [kəreterápi]
(46) ... CARRETERA-PI ('road' - loc.) yagan derrumbe hap'iypuwallankutag '... on the road, a landslide almost caught them'
- [kəreterápi]
(57) Papay wañupun kay CARRETERA-PI ('road' - loc.) llank'aspa 'My father died while working on this road'
- [kařúpi]
(46) ... haykuni CARRO-PI ('car' - loc.) '... I came in the car'
- [kařupi]
(99) Rirani Urquillosta fiestaman CARRO-PI ('car' - loc.) 'I went to the fiesta in Urquillos by car'
- [kaşópi]
(89) Huj CASO-PI ('case' - loc.) huchasapakunataqa chaskini declaracionninta amonestaspa 'In this case I receive the offenders, warning them about their evidence'
- [kəşopíqa]
(89) Chay CASO-PI-QA ('case' - loc. - emph.) entonces kacharipuni 'And then in this case I let him go'
- [kəşteľanópi]
(39) CASTELLANO-PI ('Spanish' - loc.) wiragocha alcałdeq consejalkunag ima llank'asqanta willay-ki 'I am telling you in Spanish all about the work of the mayor and counsellors'
- [kəşteľanópi]
(45) ... porque runasimita CASTELLANO-PI ('Spanish' - loc.) también "el idioma de los Incas" '... because in Spanish runasimi also (means) "the language of the Incas"'
- [kəşteľanópi]
(52) ... porque mayormente librokunapas imaynapas ruwana kunanga CASTELLANO-PI ('Spanish' - loc.) '... because in general books and everything now have to be made in Spanish'
- [kəşteľanúpi]
(52) ... chayraqmi CASTELLANO-PI ('Spanish' - loc.) explicanku leccionkunatapas '... and only lately do they explain the lessons in Spanish'
- [kəşteľanúpi]
(66) Quechuapi mana entiendewagtinkutag CASTELLANO-PI ('Spanish' - loc.) rimallaykutag, q'ala 'And when they don't understand my Quechua, we just speak in Spanish, everything'

- [kàʃtelãnoʔpi]
(66) Ñataq willaykiña CASTELLANO-PI ('Spanish' - loc.)
'And now I have spoken to you in Spanish'
- [kàʃtelãnoʔpi]
(93) ... chayqa ukukuga CASTELLANO-PI ('Spanish' - loc.) "oso" sutiyog '... now in Spanish the bear is called "oso"'
- [kàʃtelãnopinaŋ]
(9) Kunan CASTELLANO-PI-ÑA-N ('Spanish' - loc. - 'now' - emph.) ninku "hacienda de Urco" nispa 'Now they say in Spanish "hacienda de Urco"'
- [serkápi]
(22) ... chajra CERCA-PI ('near' - loc.) kan gocha
'... there is a lake near the field'
- [çatúpi]
(50) ... huj CHATO-PI ('bowl' - loc.) o huj na puyñupipas o ajinata tarinku '... in a jug or in a bowl. In this way they find it'
- [kòsinápi]
(87) Chay cosaskunawan COCINA-PI ('kitchen' - 'in') sólo lliu huj warmiq waykunanpaq 'Just with these things every woman cooks in the kitchen'
- [kòlexjópi]
(6) Imata ruwanki COLEGIO-PI ('school' - loc.)?
'What do you do in school?'
- [kòlexjópi]
(11) ... tawa killa chay COLEGIO-PI ('school' - loc.) kasharani allin '... for four months I was fine at school'
- [kòmprensjoŋpi]
(40) ... chayna sumaq allin COMPRENSION-PI ('understanding' - loc.) ñogayku ... Calca llaqtapi tiyayku '... so we live in the village of Calca ... with the best possible understanding'
- [kòmunalpíqa]
(33) ... porque desarrollo COMUNAL-PI-QA ('communal' - loc. - emph.) gobiernopas churana punin partenmantaga '... because in community development even the government ought to play its part'
- [kòŋsexópi]
(14) ... CONSEJO-PI ('town hall' - loc.) señor alcalde casarachin '... the mayor marries them in the town hall'
- [kòŋsexópi]
(59) Ñoga kay CONSEJO-PI ('town hall' - loc.) empleado kani 'I am an employee here in the town hall'
- [koʃtápi]
(88) ... grupo de artillería COSTA-PI ('coast' - loc.) ñoga musicapi cumplirani iskay watata '... I completed two years in the music division of an artillery group on the coast'
- [kwàdernópi]
(3) ... CUADERNO-PI ('exercise-book' - loc.) escribir-ayku '... we wrote in our exercise-books'
- [kwařtópi]
(57) ... papay huj hatun CUARTO-PI ('room' - loc.) velakun '... in this big room my father had vigil kept over him'

- [kwartópi]
(71) ... chay CUARTO-PI ('room' - loc.) huj alacenata kichayku '... we open this cupboard in the room'
- [dèskansópi]
(5) Chaymantaga anchay DESCANSO-PI ('rest' - 'time' - loc.) kaymi ujunku (sic —standard Q is ujyanku) aghata 'So throughout their rest time they drink maize beer'
- [dèspachópiqa]
(45) ... porque kay DESPACHO-PI-QA ('office' - loc. - emph.) hamuqkunaga iskaynin riman '... because those that come to this office speak both'
- [èmplejópi]
(62) Chaypi sufrimurani yaga qanchis wata EMPLEO-PI ('job' - loc.) llank'amurani 'I suffered there, I was in a job there for almost seven years'
- [èmplejópi]
(62) Chaymanta EMPLEO-PI ('job' - loc.) llank'apakug purirani Makusani ladota 'Then to get a job I went over to Makusani'
- [èskwelápi]
(3) ... porque amigay karan 730 ESCUELA-PI ('school' - loc.) '... because my friend was at school number 730'
- [èskwelápi]
(23) Chaypi ESCUELA-PI ('school' - loc.) kan hasta quinto año 'Here in this school we have up to the fifth year'
- [èskwelápi]
(23) Chaypi ESCUELA-PI ('school' - loc.) wakin instru-ikunku 'Here in school ... the rest are taught'
- [èskwelápi]
(52) Huj escuela mixta, warmikuna, garikuna kan chay ESCUELA-PI ('school' - loc.) 'This is a mixed school, there are boys and girls in this school'
- [èskwelàpipúni]
(66) Kay ESCUELA-PI-PUNI ('school' - loc. - def.) quechuapi kamachiyku 'In this school we have give orders in Quechua'
- [èskwelápiqa]
(78) Chay curañataq escuelaman churasqa, ESCUELA-PI-QA ('school' - loc. - emph.) uña ukukuchata 'And now the priest sent him to school, sent the baby bear to school'
- [èxskursjónpi]
(53) Normalpi kashaspa ñoqaga EXCURSION-PI ('outing' - loc.) rirani 'When I was at the Normal school I went on an outing'
- [fèbrerópi]
(81) Cosechaykutaq mawayta FEBRERO-PI ('February' - loc.) 'We harvest the early potatoes in February'
- [ferjápi]
(55) Kunan FERIA-PI ('fair' - loc.) rikhuriyku chay Mamacha Asunta fiestanpi fuegos artificiales 'Now at this fair, at the fiesta of the Virgin of the Assumption, we saw fireworks'
- [fiçápi]
(18) Chay monton sutin ficha, FICHA-PI ('ficha' - loc.) churakun 'This mound is called a "ficha", it is arranged in the "ficha"'

- [fjɛstápi]
(42) Kunantaq pensashani imachallatapas FERIA-PI
('festival' - loc.) ruwakamuymanchá 'Now I am
thinking perhaps of doing something in the fair'
- [fjɛstápi]
(99) FIESTA-PI ('festival' - loc.) haykuyku haciendata
'At fiesta time we go to the farm'
- [fjɛstapíqa]
(16) Chay FIESTA-PI-QA ('festival' - loc. - emph.)
sumagta q'ochorikunku 'At this fiesta they
all make merry'
- [fɔrmápi]
(73) Chay chaskiy ankayna FORMA-PI ('way' - loc.)
realizakun 'This reception takes place like
this'
- [fɔrmápi]
(83) Anchay FORMA-PI ('way' - loc.) munan chaskiyta
askhata gastaspa 'He likes to receive like
this since he spends a lot'
- [fɔrmápi]
(84) Escuelaymanta rirani ... inti q' lloqsimusqanta
... reqsiq, imayna FORMA-PI ('way' - loc.)
lloqsimusqanta 'From school I went ... to
see the sunrise, how it rose'
- [fuɔbólpɪ]
(10) Intiwatanapi chayaspataq ñoqayku chaypi pelota-
wan pujllayku FUTBOL-PI ('football' - loc.)
voleipi 'When we arrived at the sundial, we
played football and volley there with a ball'
- [gastúpi]
(16) Wakin GASTO-PI ('expense' - loc.) ... wakin
padrinoqa huj p'unchayta apakun fiestata
'The other sponsor ... pays the rest of the
expenses for one day of the fiesta'
- [grandípi]
(52) Payqa llank'an Cuyo GRANDE-PI ('Grande' - loc.)
'He works in Cuyo Grande'
- [àsɛndápi]
(23) ... Huallwa HACIENDA-PI ('farm' - loc.) '...
on the farm of Huallwa'
- [àsɛndápi]
(48) ... ñoqa mayordomo kaynipi HACIENDA-PI ('farm' -
loc.) '... I am mayordomo on this farm'
- [àsɛndápi]
(62) Allin qolqeta ganakushani kay HACIENDA-PI
('farm' - loc.) 'I am earning good money on
this farm'
- [àsɛndápi]
(62) ... allillarmi Urco HACIENDA-PI ('farm' - loc.)
llank'ashani '... I am happy working on the
Urco farm'
- [àsɛndapíqa]
(13) Kay HACIENDA-PI-QA ('farm' - loc. - emph.) sarata
tipimunku 'Here on the farm we husk the
maize'
- [àsɛndapíqa]
(46) HACIENDA-PI-QA ('farm' - loc. - emph.) chayamuspay-
kuqa ... bañakuyku unupi 'Having arrived at
the farm ... we bathed in the water'

- [asjèndapítæ]
(72) ... chay HACIENDA-PI-TAQ ('farm' - loc. - 'and')
hujmanta fiestata ruwanku '... again they
have a fiesta on the farm'
- [iglesjâpi]
(16) ... señor curapas IGLESIA-PI ('church' - loc.)
misapi wajyakamun casarakugkuna sutinta '
'... in the church at mass the priest gives out
the names of those who are to be married'
- [islâpi]
(46) Hinaspa chay cocordillo (sic), hina cocordillo
nisqanku kasqa animal ISLA-PI ('island' - loc.)
yaga mikhurgachikuyku chaywan 'Then there
was an animal called a crocodile on the island
and it nearly ate us'
- [xàranâpi]
(73) Chaymi JARANA-PI ('festivities' - loc.) último
p'unchaypin kan huj costumbre "chaskiy" sutiyoq
'And then on the last day of the festivities,
there is this custom called "chaskiy"'
- [xàrdinpíqa]
(28) ... porque JARDIN-PI-QA ('kindergarten' - loc.
- emph.) lliupas manan allinraqchu clasekunapas
'... because in the kindergarten, nothing func-
tions, not even the classes'
- [xuljúpi]
(81) ... hatun tarpuytataq mayopi, juniopi, JULIO-PI
('July' - loc.) '... and (we do) the main
sowing in May, June and July'
- [xunjúpi]
(81) ... hatun tarpuytataq mayopi, JUNIO-PI ('June'
- loc.), julio '... and (we do) the main
sowing in May, June and July'
- [xùsgaðópi]
(31) ... pisi manukunata kay JUZGADO-PI ('court' -
loc.) cobrakunanpaq hasta pisaq waranqaq taripa-
nankama '... in this court the repayment of
few debts is demanded until they reach 5,000
soles'
- [laxúpi]
(57) Ñañachaytaq huj LADO-PI ('side' - loc.) tivan
'My little sister lives elsewhere'
- [laxúpi]
(72) Hagay LADO-PI ('side' - loc.) acostumbranku ...
t'inkanku vacakunata 'Over there they have
the custom ... of pouring out a libation on the
cattle'
- [laxúpi]
(73) Chayman chay costumbre chay Chacabamba LADO-PI
('side' - loc.) 'That's how the custom is
over by Chacabamba'
- [laxópiqa]
(16) Hagay San Salvador LADO-PI-QA ('side' - loc. -
emph.) acostumbranku ... saramanta pacha trigo-
manta ... lliu kausayta casarakugkunapaq ...
habasman ... sagan 'Over San Salvador way
they have the custom ... of giving the married
couple everything from maize and wheat ... to
beans'
- [laxópiqa]
(92) Chaymi profesorkunapas kay sierra LADO-PI-QA
('side' - loc. - emph.) runasimitaga allinta

- yachananku 'So even the teachers up here in the mountains have to speak Quechua well'
- [lãdopítãe]
(20) ... Icharati LADO-PI-TAQ ('side' - loc. - conn.)
llank'anku cacaota '... by Icharati they produce cacao'
- [leôñpi]
(77) ... hinaspa mikhupusun chis LECHON-PI ('sucking-pig' - loc.) '... and then we shall eat sucking-pig'
- [listápi]
(73) ... huj vecino notable LISTA-PI ('list' - loc.)
chaskin '... this important neighbour receives (what is) on the list'
- [lomápi]
(82) Tuta p'unchay mañakuq kani ischu pampakunapi, LOMA-PI ('slope' - loc.) gongoriyukuspa 'By day and night I used to beg, kneeling on the ischu grass of the fields and the slopes'
- [mãtrimonjúpi]
(73) ... MATRIMONIO-PI ('wedding' - loc.) tusunku '... they dance at the wedding'
- [mayúpi]
(81) ... hatun tarpuytataq MAYO-PI ('May' - loc.), juniopi, juliopi '... and (we do) the main sowing in May, June and July'
- [mesápi]
(46) ... MESA-PI ('table' - loc.) tiyapuyku '... we sit down at the table'
- [misápi]
(16) ... señor curapas iglesiapi MISA-PI ('mass' - loc.) wajakamun casarakukuna sutinta '... in the church at mass the priest gives out the names of those who are to be married'
- [mòlinópi]
(17) ... y todavía ñoga MOLINO-PI ('mill' - loc.) ... masaq kani '... and I even used to be a bread-maker ... at the mill'
- [mulápi]
(52) Hinaspan apapunku punakunaman MULA-PI ('mule' - loc.) asnopi carganku 'Then they carry them back to the heights, loaded on mules and donkeys'
- [mùsikápi]
(23) ... MUSICA-PI ('music' - loc.) tususpanku '... they dance to the music'
- [mùsikápi]
(88) ... ñoga MUSICA-PI ('music' - loc.) cumplirani iskay watata '... I completed two years in the music division'
- [nègosjópi]
(15) Hinaspan chay NEGOCIO-PI ('business' - loc.) rantin tawa chunkata vacata 'So in this business he buys forty cows'
- [nòxturnápi]
(11) ... golqewan educakusaq NOCTURNA-PI ('night school' - loc.) nispa nini '... with the money I shall educate myself at night school, I said'
- [normálpí]
(53) NORMAL-PI ('Normal school' - loc.) kashaspa excursionpi rirani 'When I was at the Normal school I went on an outing'

- [nwèvipitáemi]
(13) ... las NUEVE-PI-TAQ-MI ('nine' - loc. - conn. - aff.) teta tomanku '... and at nine o'clock they drink tea'
- [òxtubrípi]
(10) Iskay chunka iskayniyoq p'unchaypi OCTUBRE-PI ('October' - loc.) ñogayku rirayku huj paseopi 'On the 22nd of October we went on this outing'
- [òxtubrípi]
(81) Hatun tarpuytaga tarpunku ... OCTUBRE-PI ('October' - loc.) 'The main sowing is in October'
- [òfisínápi]
(26) Señorita kaypi willashayki imaynata llank'anchis OFICINA-PI ('office' - loc.) 'Señorita I will tell you all about our work in this office'
- [òfisínápi]
(86) Kay OFICINA-PI ('office' - loc.) controlakun aguardiente caña lloqsimusgan 'In this office the export of sugar cane alcohol is controlled'
- [ofisínápíqa]
(36) Kay OFICINA-PI-QA ('office' - loc. - emph.) iskay idiomatan rimanku 'In this office they speak both languages'
- [ofisínápíqa]
(36) Comunidad runakuna hamun ... llapantapas kay OFICINA-PI-QA ('office' - loc. - emph.) hinata atienden 'The people from the communities come ... and they see to them all in this office'
- [ofisínápíqa]
(36) ... y mayor partepi kay OFICINA-PI-QA ('office' - loc. - emph.) rimakun quechua '... and in the main, Quechua is spoken in this office'
- [ørkeštápi]
(2) Chaypi ch'itawankunata arpapi, ORQUESTA-PI ('orchestra' - loc.) tocaspa chaypi tusunku 'Here while they play ? on the harp and with an orchestra, they dance'
- [panteónpi]
(55) Kunan avenida PANTEON-PI ('cemetery' - loc.) chaykunata venderanku 'Now they used to sell these in the road to the cemetery'
- [pañtípi]
(36) ... y mayor PARTE-PI ('part' - loc.) kay oficina-píqa rimakun quechua '... and in the main, Quechua is spoken in this office'
- [pañtípi]
(75) Tal PARTE-PI ('place' - loc.) golae kashan 'There is gold in such and such a place'
- [paseópi]
(10) ... ñogayku rirayku huj PASEO-PI ('outing' - loc.) '..... we went on this outing'
- [pitúpi]
(73) Rinku primerota warmiq taytanpa wasinta, PITO-PI ('pipe' - loc.) tamborpi, lliu vecinokunaa acom-pañasqa 'First they go to the house of the father of the bride, with the pipe and drum, accompanied by many neighbours'
- [pitúpi]
(73) ... matrimoniopi tusunku, PITO-PI ('pipe' - loc.) tamborpi '... they dance at the wedding to the flute and the drum'

[plàntelpíqə] (66)	<u>Kay PLANTEL-PI-QA</u> ('institution' - loc. - emph.) <u>mana pipas profesorkunamantaga mana quechua</u> <u>rimaq kanchu</u> 'In this school there is no teacher who is not a Quechua speaker'
[playápi] (41)	<u>PLAYA-PI</u> ('valley floor' - loc.) <u>kagtintaqmi tawa</u> <u>kutita sapa kimsa killa pallakun</u> 'When there is some on the valley floor, it is collec- ted four times, every three months'
[playápi] (41)	<u>Cocata PLAYA-PI</u> ('valley floor' - loc.) <u>plantakun</u> 'The coca is planted on the valley floor'
[plásápi] (1)	<u>... chayllan ima ima kaq PLAZA-PI</u> ('square' - loc.) <u>kagtapas rantiwanku</u> '... so they buy everything from me in the square'
[plásápi] (10)	<u>... chaymantataq plaza chaupi PLAZA-PI</u> ('square' - loc.) <u>mikhuyunku</u> '... and then they eat in the middle of the square'
[plásápi] (15)	<u>Chayta mamitay venden PLAZA-PI</u> ('square' - loc.) <u>sapa p'unchay</u> 'My mother sells this every day in the square'
[plásápi] (19)	<u>Chaymi hinata kikin plaza Paucartambo PLAZA-PI</u> ('square' - loc.) 'The same happens in the square in Paucartambo'
[pròsesjónpi] (73)	<u>... PROCESION-PI</u> ('procession' - loc.) <u>hina lliu</u> <u>cosaskunata q'epinpuspa hampunku</u> '... carry- ing many things, they come in procession'
[pwestúpi] (15)	<u>... PUESTO-PI</u> ('police post' - loc.) <u>controlakun</u> '... they are controlled at the police post'
[pwestúpi] (59)	<u>Kunan chunka hujniyoq watamanña haykushani kay</u> <u>PUESTO-PI</u> ('job' - loc.) 'Now I have had this job for eleven years'
[řasónpi] (24)	<u>Chay RAZON-PI</u> ('reason' - loc.) <u>cuchillowan</u> <u>defendekusqa</u> 'For this reason he defended himself with a knife'
[řasónpi] (24)	<u>Chay RAZON-PI</u> ('reason' - loc.) <u>kaynata kay wata-</u> <u>kuna antesmantaraq rencilla kasqa</u> 'For this reason for a long time there had been this quarrel'
[rèlixjónpi] (30)	<u>... chaymi hatun sumaq costumbre kashan santa</u> <u>RELIGION-PI</u> ('religion' - loc.) '... so there is this outstandingly beautiful custom in our holy religion'
[resópi] (30)	<u>... REZO-PI</u> ('prayer' - loc.) <u>yapamanta kuti-</u> <u>richipuyku</u> '... with our prayers we make it go away again'
[sànídaápípas] (33)	<u>Chaymanta SANIDAD-PI-PAS</u> ('health service' - loc. - 'also') <u>vacunakunamanta rimayku asamblea-</u>

- kunata q'alata 'So those of us in the health service too talk about vaccination in all the meetings'
- [səməŋápi]
(17) ... SEMANA-PI ('week' - loc.) iskayta masaa kani
'... I used to make bread twice a week'
- [səməŋápi]
(91) Chayqa chay hinapi SEMANA-PI ('week' - loc.)
risaa 'And so I will go there that week'
- [sətjembripi]
(82) Tawa p'unchay SETIEMBRE-PI ('September' - loc.)
memitay ... carro volcactin viajashaspa 'On the 4th of September my mother ... the car in which she was travelling turned over'
- [sitj'ópi]
(35) Bueno ... chay SITO-PI ('place' - loc.) chay ñaupaqsi antepasadonchiskuna incakuna chay kimsanti qaqakunata qaliyamusqaku 'Well ... in this place they say that in olden times our ancestors, the Incas, herded down these three rocks'
- [sùpervisj'ónpi]
(32) Ñoga llank'ani kay SUPERVISION-PI ('supervision section' - loc.) 'I work in this supervision section'
- [təmbúrpi]
(73) Rinku primerota warmiq taytanpa wasinta, pitopi TAMBOR-PI ('drum' - loc.), lliu vecinokunaq acompañasqa 'First they go to the house of the father of the bride, with the pipe and drum, accompanied by many neighbours'
- [təmbúrpi]
(73) ... matrimoniopi tusunku pitopi TAMBOR-PI ('drum' - loc.) '... they dance at the wedding to the flute and the drum'
- [tařdıpi]
(6) TARDE-PI ('afternoon' - loc.) ima horasta rinki?
'What time do you go in the afternoon?'
- [vensípi]
(35) Hinaspa chay qaqakunata qatiyamusqaku VENCE-PI ('game' - loc.) lasowan soq'ashaspalla
'They herded the stones in the qana-qana game, beating them with a rope'
- [vespíqa]
(60) Pero kunan kay VEZ-PI-QA ('time' - loc. - emph.)
manan chay arcokunata watapunkuchu 'But this time they haven't put up any of these arches'
- [visperápi]
(2) Chay kunan VISPERA-PI ('eve' - loc.) t'ojan ... VISPERAPI t'ojachinku 'And now in the evening they go off ... in the evening they set them off'
- [visperápíqa]
(2) ... primera VISPERA-PI-QA ('evening' - loc. - emph.) cohetekunata arranquekunata ... ruwanku
'... on the first evening they ... let off fireworks and rockets'

- [vòlkaḁápi]
(82) Imanaqtintaḁ kaynanaraḁta llakiriy ñit'iwan,
mamayta pusapun VOLCADA-PI ('accident' - loc.)
sufriḁpa? 'Why does sorrow follow me so, my
mother suffering when she was taken away in an
accident?'
- [volípi]
(10) Intiwatanapi chayaspataḁ ñoḁayku chaypi pelota-
wan puḁllayku futbolpi, VOLEI-PI ('volleyball'
- loc.) 'When we arrived at the sundial we
played there at football and volley with a ball'
- [yùḁopitáḁmi]
(18) Vacaḁ muchunpi watasḁataḁmi sutin "yugo", chay
YUGO-PI-TAQ-MI ('yoke' - loc. - conn. - aff.) ḁara,
vaca ḁaramanta kuchusḁallataḁ "k'ullunta"
sutiyḁ 'What is tied over the neck of the
ox is called the "yugo", and to the "yugo" (is
attached) what is called the "k'ullunta" by
means of thongs cut from hide'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-pu/

/-pu/ translocative, in the sense of action done on behalf of, or pre-
judicial to another person, or that the action of the verb takes place
by accident, suddenly (see YL 32; JL 762; EM 169-170; GP 71; MY
48-49). S loans found in conjunction with /-pu/ are bound forms of
the verb stem class.

S loans + /-pu/ ± other Q suffix(es)

- [sènapwíku]
(46) ... meḁapi tiyapuyku, CENA-PU-YKU ('dine' -
transloc. - 1st pl. excl. pres.) '... we sit
down at the table and have supper'
- [kòseḁapúnku]
(23) Chayta tendalaspanku, t'ipinku, COSECHA-PU-NKU
('harvest' - transloc. - 3rd pl. pres.) 'They
put it in the tendal and husk it and gather it
in there'
- [èntregápuḁ]
(73) Chayḁa ENTREGA-PU-N ('hand over' - transloc. -
3rd s. pres.) imaymana enseresninkunata 'And
then he hands over all kinds of goods and
chattels'
- [èntregápuḁ]
(73) ... chay ḁariḁ tayta mama ENTREGA-PU-N ('hand
over' - transloc. - 3rd s. pres.) lliuta particion-
ninta '... the father and mother of the man
hand over to him all his inheritance'

[lòtisapúnku] (20)	<u>... chaytataq kuan LOTIZA-PU-NKU</u> ('divide' - transloc. - 3rd pl. pres.) '... and now they are dividing this for them into allotments'
[pasápuŋ] (77)	<u>... q'etipiaspa asno PASA-PU-N</u> ('go' - transloc. - 3rd s. pres.) <u>vajeroqkunaman</u> '... their donkey went leaping along to the travellers'
[pasapúnku] (99)	<u>Chaymanta chay bailarinkunapas PASA-PU-NKU</u> ('go past' - transloc. - 3rd pl. pres.) 'And then these dancers go past also'
[pasapusqáku] (71)	<u>Pascual Diegowan escapapusqaku, PASA-PU-SQA-KU</u> ('go' - transloc. - narr. - pl.) 'Pascual/Diego escaped and went away'
[pjeřdipun] (68)	<u>... hinaspa chaymanta Reforma Agrariawan PIERDE-PU-N</u> ('lose' - transloc. - 3rd s. pres.) <u>runakuna</u> '... but now, with the Agrarian Reform the people are losing'
[pròibipun] (60)	<u>Pero kuan kay vezpiqa manan arcokunata wata-punkuchu, porque consejo PROHIBI-PU-N</u> ('forbid' - transloc. - 3rd s. pres.) 'But this time they haven't put up any of these arches, because the council has forbidden them to'
[keđapún] (27)	<u>Hinaspanmi asnocha inválido ... QUEDA-PU-N</u> ('remain' - transloc. - 3rd s. pres.) 'And so the little donkey remained ... useless [i.e. ill]'
[rèskatapúnku] (77)	<u>... RESCATA-PU-NKU</u> ('save' - transloc. - 3rd pl. pres.) <u>reatata</u> '... they saved the harnesses'
[salvapúsqa] (78)	<u>Fierro bastonninwan SALVA-PU-SQA</u> ('rescue' - transloc. - narr.) <u>condenadota</u> 'With his iron stick he rescued the wicked man'
[vèndipuwankiman] (27)	<u>Chay suwakuna nin: haycapitac kay pavota VENDE-PU-WA-NKI-MAN</u> ('sell' - transloc. - trans. - 2nd s. pres. - cond.)? 'These robbers said: for how much would you sell this turkey to us?'
[vèndipwikiman] (27)	<u>Pisqa sollapin VENDE-PU-YKI-MAN</u> ('sell' - transloc. - trans. - cond.) 'I would sell it to you for only five soles'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-puni/

/-puni/ emphatic, definite (see YL 39; JL 768; EM 319; GP 79).

S loans found in conjunction with /-puni/ are free forms of the substantive and adverb classes.

S loans + /-puni/ ± other Q suffix

[<u>èdukasjonpúni</u>] (82)	<u>EDUCACION-PUNI</u> ('education' - def.) <u>valen ima</u> <u>maypi kanapaqpas</u> 'Education is always worth while for any situation'
[<u>ràtupunítæ</u>] (50)	<u>... huj RATO-PUNI-TAQ</u> ('moment' - def. - conn.) <u>deshacerunku chayqa</u> '... in a moment they quickly undid it'
[<u>sjèmpripúni</u>] (95)	<u>Lliu runa hamunku huj pueblokunamanta SIEMPRE-</u> <u>-PUNI</u> ('always' - def.) <u>mikhunku</u> 'Many people always come from these villages just to eat'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-q/

1. /-q/ agentive, derives nouns from verbs, e.g. llank'ay 'to work', llank'aq 'worker', and may be used in an adverbial or purposive sense, e.g. khuyaqniyki hamuni, lit. 'I have come for your caring', 'I have come to care for you' (see YL 42-43; JL 425; EM 93, 279-280; GP 56-57; MY 53). S loans found in conjunction with /-q/ agentive are bound forms of the verb stem class.

S loans + /-q/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[<u>aténdie</u>] (87)	<u>Huancata kay fiestaman ñocayku riyku porque</u> <u>Diosta munaspa ATENDE-Q</u> ('attend' - agent.) 'We go to this fiesta in Huanca because we want to worship God'
[<u>awksiljæ</u>] (24)	<u>Mana AUXILIA-Q</u> ('help' - agent.) <u>pipas kanchu</u> 'There is no-one at all to help'
[<u>kámbjæ</u>] (49)	<u>Qanqanta rini papa rantikuq, sarata aparikuspa</u> <u>CAMBIA-Q</u> ('barter' - agent.) 'I go to Qanqan to buy potatoes, taking maize which I barter'
[<u>sénæ</u>] (46)	<u>Chay bañakuyta tukuspa, CENA-Q</u> ('have supper' - agent.) <u>haykupuyku</u> 'When we had finished bathing, we went to supper'
[<u>kométie</u>] (24)	<u>Kay delito COMETE-Q</u> ('commit' - agent.) <u>runa</u> <u>ignorante, sinchi machaq</u> 'The perpetrator of this crime was an ignorant man, a great drunkard'
[<u>komúlga</u>] (87)	<u>Chaypin chay COMULGA-Q</u> ('communicate' - agent.) <u>rigkuna wañupusqaku, castigota kuqtin</u> 'There

- the communicants died, they were punished'
- [kwidáqta]
(79) Hinaspa ñogata CUIDA-Q-TA ('guard' - agent. - obj.) sageywaran 'And so he left me on guard'
- [engañaku]
(47) ... mana legaltachu wajchakunaman pagaaku aswanpas ENGAÑA-Q-KU ('deceive' - agent. - pl.)
'... they didn't pay the poor people legally, on the contrary they deceived them'
- [gástaq]
(83) Chay nueve decimostaraqmi GASTA-Q ('spend' - agent.) kayku 'We even used to spend these nine décimos'
- [másaq]
(17) Chayta MASA-Q ('make bread' - agent.) kani
'I used to make bread there'
- [másaq]
(17) ... semanapi iskayta MASA-Q ('make bread' - agent.) kani '... I made bread twice a week'
- [organísaq]
(36) Matrimonio civil ruwanankupaq hamullankutaqmi warmi gari expediente ORGANIZA-Q ('organize' - agent.) 'In order to carry out the civil wedding, the woman and man just come and organize the document'
- [págaq]
(83) Chay musicaman, bandaman PAGA-Q ('pay' - agent.) kani tantota 'I used to pay so much for the music and the band'
- [pagáaku]
(47) ... mana legaltachu wajchakunaman PAGA-Q-KU ('pay' - agent. - pl.) aswanpas engañaku
'... they didn't pay the poor people legally, on the contrary they deceived them'
- [pagaetápas]
(47) Imaynataq chay yunka Convención Huyropi kasqaypi tarirganichu legalidadta llank'aqkunawan PAGA-Q-TA-PAS ('pay' - agent. - obj. - 'even')
'And there in Huyro in the Convención valley, I did not find justice in the workers' pay'
- [párlaq]
(92) ... hinaspataq tayta mamakunapas kayman hamunan-ku PARLA-Q ('talk' - agent.) '... and so both the fathers and the mothers have to come here to talk'
- [parlálla]
(89) Kayman mayor parte runakuna hamun runasimi PARLA-Q-LLA ('speak' - agent. - limit.) 'Most of the people who come here only speak Quechua'
- [pasaetácu]
(11) ... songoypi nini: imaynataq kay lugarkunataqa hamurani, sufriqtachu hamurani, ima Calvario PASA-Q-TA-CHU ('go through' - agent. - obj. - interr.) hamurani? '... in my heart I say: why have I come to these places, why have I come to suffer, why have I come to pass through this Calvary?'

[pəséəq] (56)	<u>Campota riyku PASEA-Q</u> ('walk' - agent.) 'We go to the country to walk'
[pəséəq] (95)	<u>Chaymanta tardentaqa PASEA-Q</u> ('walk' - agent.) <u>rini</u> 'Then during the afternoon I go walking'
[pəseəqri] (7)	<u>PASEA-Q-RI</u> ('walk' - agent. - incept.)? <u>PASEAQRI rini</u> 'Do you go for a walk? Yes, I go for a walk'
[píntəq] (8)	<u>Choqekanchaman rirani PINTA-Q</u> ('paint' - agent.) 'I went to Choqekancha to paint'
[respíraq] (56)	<u>Campota riyku paseaq, aire puro RESPIRA-Q</u> ('breathe' - agent.) 'We go to the country to walk and breathe the fresh air'
[sufriətáçu] (11)	<u>... songoypi nini: imaynataq kay lugar-kunata hamurani SUFRI-Q-TA-CHU</u> ('suffer' - agent. - obj. - interr.) <u>hamurani?</u> '... in my heart I say: why have I come to these places, why have I come to suffer?'
[tóməq] (22)	<u>Qochaman suchuyusqa vaca unu TOMA-Q</u> ('drink' - agent.) 'The cow went down to the lake to drink water'
[visítaq] (28)	<u>Señorita, ñoga willashayki kayninpa killan Qosqota riyku VISITA-Q</u> ('visit' - agent.) <u>jardin-kunata</u> 'Señorita, I will tell you how we went to Cuzco this month to visit the kindergartens'
[visítaq] (87)	<u>... Señor Huancaman ... VISITA-Q</u> ('visit' - agent.) <u>riyku</u> '... we went to visit ... the lord of Huanca'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-q/

2. /-q/ possessive used after vowel-final substantives or pronouns, to indicate that they are possessors. The alternative form /-pa/ is used after consonant-final substantives, pronouns or verb infinitives (see above, p. 206. See YL 28 — in CQ /-q/ occurs only after /-ni/ or in free variation with /-qpa/; JL 425; EM 54; MY 60). S loans found in conjunction with /-q/ possessive are free forms of the substantive class.

S loans + /-q/ ± other Q suffix(es)

- [alkáldie]
(12) Hinaspatagmi chayta ruwaruspenkutaqmi hampunku
ALCALDE-Q ('mayor' - poss.) wasinta 'And then
when they have done this, they come to the
mayor's house'
- [alkáldie]
(39) Castellanopi wiraqocha ALCALDE-Q ('mayor' - poss.)
consejalkunag ima llank'asqanta willayki 'I
am telling you in Spanish about the work of the
mayor and counsellors'
- [asúntae]
(27) ... huj estandartetan apanku, sumaq estandarteta
Mamacha ASUNTA-Q ('Asunta' - poss.) '... they
bring out the flag, the beautiful flag of the
Virgin Asunta'
- [kalvárjoe]
(30) ... ima sumaqta ghawariyku santo CALVARIO-Q
('Calvary' - poss.) wichay orqo patapi sayarimus-
qanta '... we watch the beautiful (ceremony)
of the setting-up of the Calvary on top of the
hill'
- [kuráepi]
(16) ... señor CURA-Q-PI ('priest' - poss. - loc.)
manifestacionta churaspa '... submitting the
document at the priest's'
- [kuráepi]
(78) Hujñatag empleakapusqa ovejeraga CURA-Q-PI
('priest' - poss. - loc.) 'Then another worked
as a shepherdess at the priest's'
- [kuráeta]
(16) Chayqa chaymanta padrinowan haykunku señor
CURA-Q-TA ('priest' - poss. - obj.) 'Then
from there they come with the sponsor to the
priest's'
- [estádoe]
(40) ... ñoqaykuqa empleado kayku, ESTADO-Q ('state'
- poss.) empleadon '... we are employees,
employees of the state'
- [gobjérnoe]
(59) Ñaupag karan por elección GOBIERNO-Q ('govern-
ment' - poss.) kamachikamusqa 'In the old
days he was ordered by the election of the
government'
- [gríngoae]
(20) Hujnin ganadería huj GRINGO-Q ('foreigner' -
poss.) extranjieromanta 'One of these herds
belongs to this foreigner from abroad'
- [madrínae]
(16) ... año nuevo fiestakunapiqa ahijadokunaga
obligacionninmi kan padrinokunaman visitananpaq,
fiestanpipas tanto MADRINA-Q ('woman sponsor'
- poss.) padrinocpipas '... the protégés
are obliged to visit the sponsors at the New
Year fiestas, both the woman sponsor's fiestas
and the male sponsor's'
- [mirandáeta]
(17) Ñoga Miranda kani, primerta wachakuwasqa
MIRANDA-Q-TA ('Miranda' - poss. - obj.) mamitay
'I am a Miranda, my mother bore me first to
the Miranda'

[nóvj'oa]
(73)

... chayqa kutinpunku hampunku NOVIO-Q ('bride-groom' - poss.) wasinman '... then they return, they come to the bridegroom's house'

[ovéxaa]
(81)

... punamantaga en cambio solamente guano ...
éste llamaq OVEJA-Q ('sheep' - poss.) wanullanta churayku '... on the other hand we only put on sheep and llama ... droppings and fertilizer from the mountains'

[padrinoepipas]
(16)

... año nuevo fiestakunapiqa ahijadokunaga obligacionninmi kan padrinokunaman visitananpaq, fiestanpipas tanto madrinaq
PADRINO-Q-PI-PAS ('sponsor' - poss. - loc. - 'and')
'... the protégés are obliged to visit the sponsors at the New Year fiestas, both the woman sponsor's fiestas and the male sponsor's'

[plásaa]
(59)

... pero kunan wataqa PLAZA-Q ('square' - poss.)
allichakusqa motivowan mana kapuñachu kay
'... but this year because of the mending of the square, there is none of this'

[provínsjae]
(23)

Nogan kani San Salvador llaqtamanta distrito nisqa Calca PROVINCIA-Q ('province' - poss.)
distriton 'I am from the village of San Salvador, which is named a district of the province of Calca'

[señoráapi]
(75)

Huj SEÑORA-Q-PI ('lady' - poss. - loc.) chayta tal tutata risunchis 'Let's go to this lady's on such and such a night'

[vákaa]
(18)

Chaywanmi hasta uman VACA-Q ('bull' - poss.)
umanpi astanman watana yugota 'With this the yoke has to be tied well on to the horns on the head of the bull'

[vákaa]
(18)

VACA-Q ('bull' - poss.) much'unpi watasqataomi sutin "yugo" 'What is tied over the neck of the ox is called the "yugo"'

[wákaa]
(72)

Hinaspa parejantin haykunku VACA-Q ('cow' - poss.)
kascankuman t'inkaq tragowan, cocawan 'Then the couples enter where the cattle is, to sprinkle it with alcohol and coca'

[vjaxeroekunáman]
(77)

Hauchis, hauchis, a'etipiyaspa asno pasapun VIAJERO-Q-KUNA-MAN ('traveller' - poss. - pl. - 'to')
'Ee-ore, ee-ore, their donkey went leaping along to the travellers'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-qa/

/-qa/ conditional emphatic, topic marker, glossed 'but, so, if' (see YL 41; JL 425-426; EM 132-134; MY 66). S loans found in conjunction with /-qa/ are free forms of the substantive, adverb or conjunction classes.

S loans + /-qa/ ± other Q suffix(es)

- [antésqa]
(1) ANTES-QA ('before' - emph.) karan kimsa banda
'But before there were three bands'
- [antésqa]
(67) ... ANTES-QA ('before' - emph.) haciendallan karan, kunanga manañan chay haciendakuna kangañachu
'... before there used to be these farms, but now these farms won't exist'
- [antésqa]
(81) Manan ANTES-QA ('before' - emph.) llank'aytaqa yacharanichu papataqa 'Before I did not know how to deal with potatoes'
- [antésqa]
(85) Chaymanta kag ANTES-QA ('before' - emph.) wiñapu kutanay kag aghanay kag 'And so before, I used to grind the germinated maize, I used to make maize beer'
- [asnóqa]
(79) Hinaspa ASNO-QA ('donkey' - emph.) qhawan, qhawaspachuyun 'And so the donkey watched, and as he watched he came nearer'
- [chikáqa]
(17) Hinaspa Dr. Saldivar nin: señora kay CHICA-QA ('girl' - emph.) wagashantáa 'And then Dr. Saldivar said: señora, this girl is crying'
- [kořálqa]
(15) CORRAL-QA ('enclosure' - emph.) hunt'alla kashan vacakunanmanta 'But the enclosure is just full of his cows'
- [kòštumbriqa]
(30) ... llapan ruwanakunamantapas ichaqa aswan sumaq kaypi lliupa admiranan lliupa qhawarinan
COSTUMBRE-QA ('custom' - emph.) '... here everyone must admire the nice things they do, the custom must be seen by everyone'
- [kuráqa]
(96) Hinaspa CURA-QA ('priest' - emph.) lliu ceremonia-kunata celebran inti taytanpaq 'Then the priest performs many ceremonies to his father, the sun'
- [despwésqa]
(60) ... más DESPUES-QA ('afterwards' - emph.) astawan-paschá chinñipunga '... but afterwards perhaps everything will disappear'

- [djegóqa]
(71) DIEGO-QA ('Diego' - emph.) apan haykun chaykaqta
cuartoman 'Diego arrived, bringing it into
the room'
- [djegóqa]
(71) ... cuando de repente qhawariraqtinga DIEGO-QA
('Diego' - emph.) ... na ... mayuq ladollanpi
kashasqa '... when suddenly Diego ... just
caught sight of him ... by the edge of the river'
- [direktoráqa]
(3) Pay kaqtin DIRECTORA-QA ('head' - emph.)
'She is the headmistress'
- [gafúqa]
(79) Mana munanchu GALLO-QA ('cock' - emph.) 'The
cock doesn't want to'
- [xentíqa]
(99) Na chicallaña, GENTE-QA ('people' - emph.) chaypi
karan 'Well, there were now only a few
people there'
- [idjomáqa]
(45) Chaymi kay IDIOMA-QA ('language' - emph.) kaypi
rimana y iskaynin ladomanta castellanota,
runasimita 'So this language is spoken here,
and from both sides, Spanish and Quechua'
- [mayorjáqa]
(23) ... y runakunataqmi chaypi llapan, la MAYORIA-QA
('most' - emph.) dedicakun runasimi rimayman
'... and all the people here, or the majority,
are dedicated to speaking Quechua'
- [mayormentíqa]
(52) MAYORMENTE-QA ('in general' - emph.) manan ñoqaga
problemay kanchu porque rimani runasimita
'On the whole this is not my problem, because I
speak Quechua'
- [nègosjóqa]
(1) Tukukapuqtinga kay NEGOCIO-QA ('business' -
emph.) simplemente urayapullantaq 'But when
it finishes, business just falls off'
- [òvexeráqa]
(78) Hujñataq empleakapusqa OVEJERA-QA ('shepherdess'
- emph.) curaqpi 'Then another worked as a
shepherdess at the priest's'
- [padrinúqa]
(16) PADRINO-QA ('sponsor' - emph.) ... huj p'unchayta
apakun fiestata ahijadokunapag 'The sponsor
... organizes the fiesta day for his protégés'
- [padrinúqa]
(16) Wakin gastopi ... wakin PADRINO-QA ('sponsor' -
emph.) huj p'unchayta apakun fiestata 'The
other sponsor ... pays the rest of the expenses
for one day of the fiesta'
- [padrinúqa]
(16) PADRINO-QA ('sponsor' - emph.) savayun iglesiaman
pusayunanpag 'The sponsor stands up to take
him to the church'
- [pèmirúqa]
(13) PERMIRO-QA (sic, by metathesis from primero)
('first' - emph.) kuraq primerata sarakunata
permirata horgon, chaymanta hut'uta, chaymanta
segundata, chaymanta phaspata aillargachin
'First he took out first grade maize, then he

- had the rotten, the second grade, and the "phaspa" selected'
- [pìsaááqa]
(41) ... mana huj clase cocachu PISADA-QA ('trodden' - emph.) '.... this kind of coca is not trodden'
- [sèrvidumbriqa]
(66) ... porque mana SERVIDUMBRE-QA ('servants' - emph.) ancha castellanota taripanchu '... because the servants don't understand much Spanish'
- [sinúqa]
(59) ... pero kunan wataga ... mana kapuñachu chay, SINO-QA ('but' - emph.) descansokunallataña watanku '... but this year, there will not be this, but rather they are now setting up small altars'
- [sonsóqa]
(76) SONSO-QA ('idiot' - emph.) sageyun q'epinta 'But the idiot left his bundle behind'
- [tjempóqa]
(11) Chayqa huj TIEMPO-QA ('time' - emph.) allin kasharani 'And so this time I was really all right'
- [tjempóqa]
(83) Kunan TIEMPO-QA ('time' - emph.) manan chay iskay waranqaga kanman 'Nowadays there may not be two thousand'
- [vesésqa]
(56) Papa yanapawan, a VECES-QA ('times' - emph.) mamitay 'My father helps me, and sometimes my mother'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-qti/

/-qti/ conjunctive, "Indicates action which begins, and perhaps ends, previous to the start of the action denoted by the main verb, and which has a different actor than the main verb" (GP 50. See YL 35; EM 91, 274-276; GP 50-51 — in AQ the conjunctive form is /-pti/; MY 56-57 — here /-qti/ is wrongly analysed as the nominalizer /-q/ + /-ti/ and is classed together with /-nti/. S loans found in conjunction with /-qti/ are bound forms of the verb stem class.

S loans + /-qti/ + other Q suffix(es)

- [àseptáatin]
(16) Chaypin padrino ACEPTA-QTI-N ('accept' - conjunc. - 3rd s. pres.), huj p'unchayta fijanku 'The

- sponsor accepts this and they decide on the day'
- [entendiatiñan]
(52) ... primeramente ruwanku runasimipi, hinaspañan runasimipi chicokuna ENTENDE-QTI-NA-N ('understand' - conjunc. - 'now' - 3rd s. pres.) o yacharaqtiñan '... first they do it in Quechua, and then the boys can understand it in Quechua, or they have learned it'
- [pasáetiñ]
(10) Chaymantataq tawa hora PASA-QTI-N ('pass' - conjunc. - 3rd s. pres.) uravampuyku, kasgan fian llaqtataq, profesorakunapas contento 'After four hours we came down the path to the village, and even the teachers were happy'
- [susedéetiñ]
(14) Padrinokuna imaymanapi yanapanan ahiaadokunata imapas SUCEDE-QTI-N ('happen' - conjunc. - 3rd s. pres.) 'The sponsors help the protégés in anything that may happen'
- [volkáetiñ]
(82) Tawa p'unohay setiembrepi mamitay ... carro VOLCA-QTI-N ('bus' - conjunc. - 3rd s. pres.) viajashaspa 'On the 4th of September my mother ... the car in which she was travelling turned over'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-raq/

/-raq/ means 'still', 'yet' (see YL 39; JL 824; EM 320; GP 79-80).

The S loans found in conjunction with /-raq/ are free forms of the substantive and adverb classes.

S loans + /-raq/ + other Q suffix(es)

- [gasturaémi]
(16) Chay padrino munakuykipas GASTO-RAQ-MI ('expense' - 'still' - aff.) ruwakun porque haykun qowe kankantin, cervezantin, aqhantin 'To make the sponsor accept, they spend even more money, because they must come with roast guinea-pig, beer and maize beer'
- [pèqraetáemi]
(66) Niñakunapiqa aswan peor, y lo PEOR-RAQ-TAQ-MI ('worst' - 'yet' - conn. - aff.) wakinga p'enqa-kapunku runasimipi rimapuyta 'With the girls it's much worse, and the worst of all is that the rest feel ashamed to speak Quechua'

SPANISH LOAN /.....

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-ri/

/-ri/ inceptive, but in most cases almost untranslatable. May indicate that the action of the verb is just beginning, or express courtesy, or /-ri/ may be inserted for the sake of euphony (see YL 31, 41; JL 840; EM 158-159; GP 66-67; MY 49). S loans found in conjunction with /-ri/ are bound forms of the verb stem class.

S loans + /-ri/ + other Q suffix

[mirárin] (75)	<u>Pero astawarmi ... MIRA-RI-N</u> ('see' - incept. - 3rd s. pres.) <u>kay santa devoción santísima cruzman</u> 'But they just see ... increasing holy devotion to the most holy cross'
[oyéria] (95)	<u>Chayqa primerta rini misa OYE-RI-Q</u> ('hear' - incept. - agent.) 'So first of all I go and hear mass'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-ra/ OR /-rqa/

/-ra/ or /-rqa/ simple past tense (see YL 35; EM 89; GP 48-49; MY 51-52). S loans found in conjunction with /-ra/ or /-rqa/ are bound forms of the verb stem class.

S loans + /-ra/ or /-rqa/ + other Q suffix(es)

[kambjarakwiku] (49)	<u>Chayqa ratolla CAMBIA-RA-KU-YKU</u> ('change' - past - reflex. - 1st pl. excl.) <u>chayqa kutirinpuyku</u> 'Then we changed quickly and came back immediately'
[käsarakusqanku] (15)	<u>Hace treinta ... kimsa chunka pisqayqa wataña CASA-RA-KU-SQA-NKU</u> ('marry' - past - reflex. - same subj. - 3rd pl.) 'They were married thirty-five years ago'
[kastigáran] (3)	<u>Chayqa puillagtinkuqa directora haykutamuspa CASTIGA-RA-N</u> ('punish' - past - 3rd s.) <u>k'uohupi</u> 'Then the headmistress, coming in while they were playing, punished them (by putting them) in the corner'

[kwidáran]	Hinaspa iskay runachakuna tutata sarata CUIDA-
(13)	-RA-N ('guard' - past - 3rd s.) 'So two men guarded the maize at night'
[kùmpliráni]	... ñoga musicapi CUMPLI-RA-NI ('complete' -
(88)	past - 1st s.) <u>iskay watata</u> '... I completed two years in the music division'
[èskribiráiku]	... cuadernopi ESCRIBI-RA-YKU ('write' - past -
(3)	1st pl. excl.) <u>porque pay ocupasga sapa p'unchay karan</u> '... we wrote in our exercise-books because she was busy every day'
[nàseráni]	Chaymanta chaypi NACE-RA-NI ('be born' - past -
(23)	1st s.) 'So I was born here'
[òbsekjárən]	Paymi OBSEQUIA-RA-N ('give' - past - 3rd s.) <u>chay</u>
(20)	<u>Quillabamba llaqta pampata</u> 'This man gave the Quillabamba village land as a gift'
[pàgarqáni]	... chaytataq pagayta PAGA-RQA-NI ('pay' - past -
(48)	1st s.) '... and I paid out this payment'
[pàsaráiku]	Calcamanta lloqsispa PASA-RA-YKU ('pass' - past -
(10)	1st pl. excl.) <u>kimsa pueblochakunata</u> 'Leaving Calca, we passed three small villages'
[pènsarənku]	... entonces paykuna españolkuna PENSA-RA-NKU
(45)	('think' - past - 3rd pl.) <u>idiomanchá "qeswa", nispá niranku "quechua"</u> '... so perhaps these Spaniards thought their language was "qeswa", and they called it "Quechua"'
[ràskarapúspa]	RASCA-RA-PU-SPA ('scratch' - past - transloc. -
(79)	simul.) <u>chayman gallo phawaymusqa</u> 'After scratching him, the cock ran away'
[sufriráni]	... sogta chunka iskayniyoo watapi hatun llakiyta
(82)	SUFRI-RA-NI ('suffer' - past - 1st s.) '... in the year '62, I suffered great affliction'
[sufrirqáni]	SUFRI-RQA-NI ('suffer' - past - 1st s.) <u>nisiuta</u>
(66)	<u>huch'uychaymantapacha ñogallamantan kakurani</u> 'I have suffered too much from the time I was small'
[tradusíran]	Tiyag runakunan karan sutin Qhallqa, chayta
(98)	españolkuna <u>TRADUCI-RA-N</u> ('translate' - past - 3rd s.) <u>"Calca"</u> 'The place where these people lived was called Qhallqa, and the Spaniards translated this into "Calca"'
[vendéran]	... wasita VENDE-RA-N ('sell' - past - 3rd s.)
(17)	'... she sold the house'
[vèndirənku]	... chay cerámica mochica figuraskunata VENDE-
(55)	-RA-NKU ('sell' - past - 3rd pl.) '... they were selling these Mochica pottery figures'

[vèndirāṅku]
(55)

Kunan avenida panteonpi chaykunata VENDE-RA-NKU
(*'sell' - past - 3rd pl.*) *'Now they used to
sell these in the road to the cemetery'*

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-ru/

/-ru/ indicates sudden or rapid action (see YL 30 — /-rqo/ and /-rqa/ are listed as honorifics, though one of the examples given seems to indicate this sudden or rapid sense. The form /-ru/ does not apparently exist in CQ; EM 188-189 seems to imply that /-rqo/ and /-rqu/ are in free variation, and that /-rqa/ is the alternative form used before /-ri/, /-chi/, /-pu/ and /-mu/; GP 67; MY 48 finds /-ra/ before high vowels and /-ru/ elsewhere). S loans found in conjunction with /-ru/ are bound forms of the verb stem class.

S loans + /-ru/ + other Q suffix(es)

[arəstrarúsəq]
(77)

Hujninga nimunñataq: ay ñoqan ARRASTRA-RU-SAQ
(*'pull' - 'sudden' - 1st s. fut.*) *'One of them
said: hey, I will pull it'*

[dèsəserúnku]
(50)

... huj ratopunitaq DESHACE-RU-NKU (*'undo' -
'sudden' - 3rd pres.*) chayqa *'... in a moment
they quickly undid it'*

[pəsaruku]áiki]
(74)

Señoray, PASA-RU-KU-SHA-YKI (*'pass' - 'rapid' -
reflex. - contin. - trans. 1st s. pres.*)
'Señora, I am passing you'

[kitaruspāṅku]
(76)

... hinaspa q'epinta QUITA-RU-SPA-NKU (*'take
away' - 'sudden' - simul. - 3rd pl. pres.*)
*'... and then they suddenly take away his
bundle'*

[tardərusqāku]
(35)

Hinaspa allinta qatiyemushaotinkuña TARDA-RU-
-SQA-KU (*'delay' - 'sudden' - narr. - pl.*) huj
rato *'Then as they were herding them well,
they didn't delay long'*

[vòltjarúsəq]
(74)

Kay pañamakipi kashanga kallpaga saomasparaqmi
VOLTEA-RU-SAQ (*'turn over' - 'sudden' - 1st s.
fut.*) *'I have strength in my right hand, and
with my fist I will throw you over'*

[sĩlārukuspāṅku]
(12)

Hinaspataqmi caballokunapi SILLA-RU-KU-SPA-NKU
(*'mount' - 'sudden' - refl. - simul. - 3rd pl. pres.*)

aypaytakama aypanku 'And then they saddle their horses, and race over the distance'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-sha/

/-sha/ continuous. Indicates continuous action of the verb in present, past and future tenses (see YL 32 — CQ has the three forms /-sha/, /-sa/ and /-sqa/ in free variation; EM 96 — the form mentioned is /-sqa/ with an older form /-chqa/; GP 73 — the AQ form is also /-chqa/; MY 51). S loans found in conjunction with /-sha/ are bound forms of the verb stem class.

S loans + /-sha/ + other Q suffix(es)

[administráʃaŋ]
(59)

Paykuna ADMINISTRA-SHA-N ('administer' - contin. - 3rd s. pres.) actualmente kunanpacha 'They are at the moment doing the administration'

[kumpliʃáiku]
(40)

... sumagta voluntad trabajayku, horasninpi CUMPLI-SHA-YKU ('complete' - contin. - 1st pl. excl. pres.) '... we work with good will, and complete the hours'

[eskapaʃáikiçu]
(71)

... pero ama escapawankichu, mana ESCAPA-SHA-YKI-CHU ('escape' - contin. - 2nd s. pres. - neg.) '... but don't escape from me, you aren't escaping'

[mexoráʃaŋ]
(23)

... y anchaynamanta chay llaqtacha MEJORA-SHA-N ('improve' - contin. - 3rd s. pres.) y kunanqa allinmi kashan '... this little village is improving in many ways, and now it is fine'

[partíʃaŋ]
(18)

Chay wachuta PARTI-SHA-N ('open' - contin. - 3rd s. pres.) iskayman mujua tapakunanpaq 'He is opening two furrows so as to cover the seed'

[pasaʃáni]
(64)

... chaypin ñoga kay vidata PASA-SHA-NI ('pass' - contin. - 1st s. pres.), señorita '... and so I am spending my life here, miss'

[pensaʃáni]
(42)

Chaypaq chay ruwachinaypaq PENSA-SHA-NI ('think' - contin. - 1st s. pres.) 'So I am thinking of having this done'

[pensaʃáni]
(42)

Kunantaq PENSA-SHA-NI ('think' - contin. - 1st s. pres.) imachallatapas feriapi ruwakamuymanchá 'Now I am thinking perhaps of doing something in the fair'

- [sègiʃáni]
(85) Chay hasta kunankama SEGUI-SHA-NI ('continue' - contin. - 1st s. pres.) 'And so I am going on up till now'
- [sèviʃaranítaq]
(66) Patriata SERVI-SHA-RA-NI-TAQ ('serve' - contin. - past - 1st s. - conn.), educakusharanitaq 'I was serving the country, I was educating myself'
- [vèndiʃánkũ]
(95) ... chayqa chaypitaqa sapa rato VENDE-SHA-NKU ('sell' - contin. - 3rd pl. pres.) '... and then they are selling them here all the time'
- [vjàxəʃáspə]
(82) ... carro volcagtin VIAJA-SHA-SPA ('travel' - contin. - simul.) '... the car in which she was travelling turned over'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-spa/

/-spa/ simultative, indicating that the action of the verb in the dependent clause is simultaneous with the action of the main verb, the actors of both verbs being the same person (cf. /-qti/, p. 230 above). It is often equivalent to the English '-ing' (see YL 37; EM 93, 283-285; GP 51; MY 51). S loans found in conjunction with /-spa/ are bound forms of the verb stem class.

S loans + /-spa/ + other Q suffix(es)

- [àlistəspánkũ]
(12) ... anchaypi askha warmikuna suyanku q'ala p'achanta ALISTA-SPA-NKU ('prepare' - simul. - 3rd pl. poss.) '... there all the women wait for them, preparing all the clothes'
- [àmonestáspə]
(89) Huj casopi huchasapakunataqa chaskini declaracionninta AMONESTA-SPA ('warn' - simul.) 'In this case I receive the offenders warning them about their evidence'
- [àprovečáspə]
(24) Chay silenciota APROVECHA-SPA ('take advantage' - simul.) chayta ruwakun, chay runa 'Taking advantage of this silence, the man did it'
- [sènaspáqa]
(46) ... mesapi tiyapuyku, cenapuyku, CENA-SPA-QA ('have supper' - simul. - emph.) tukuyku cenayta camaykuman ... haykupuyku '... we sit down at the table and have supper, and when we finish having supper ... we go ... to our beds'

- [kobrâspa]
(86) Sapa killa qolqeta chaypi estadopaq qolgechayku, haciendakunamanta COBRA-SPA ('charge' - simul.) 'Every month we collect the money here for the state, charging the farms'
- [kòntrolâspa]
(86) Sapa semana riyku haciendamenta, huj haciendaman CONTROLA-SPA ('check' - simul.), producció
controlaspa 'Every week we go and see about the farms, checking a farm, checking its production'
- [kòrtâspânku]
(23) ... mayo killapi cosechanku, ichunawan CORTA-SPA-NKU ('cut' - simul. - 3rd pl. pres.) '... they harvest in the month of May, cutting with a sickle'
- [kwiââspa]
(68) Chaypi huj runacha tiyan CUIDA-SPA ('care' - 'take' - simul.) 'This boy lives here, as caretaker'
- [gastâspa]
(83) Pascua cargota ruwarani señoracha, askhata qolqeta GASTA-SPA ('spend' - simul.) 'I was in charge at Easter, miss, spending a great deal of money'
- [gastâspa]
(83) Anchay formapi munan chaskiyta askhata GASTA-SPA ('spend' - simul.) 'He likes to receive like this since he spends a lot'
- [gosâspa]
(11) ... kaypi allin kashani, allin frutakunawan GOZA-SPA ('enjoy' - simul.) kashani '... I am well here, and enjoying myself with the good fruit'
- [invitâspa]
(2) ... cargoyokunaga cervezata lliu genteta INVITA-SPA ('offer' - simul.) machasqanku '... the office-bearers, offering beer to everyone get drunk'
- [invitâspa]
(83) Lliu llaqtantinman INVITA-SPA ('offer' - simul.), lliuta gastani 'Inviting all the village together, I spend a lot'
- [parlâspa]
(36) Comunidad runakuna hamun, runasimipi PARLA-SPA ('speak' - simul.) 'The people from the communities come, speaking in Quechua'
- [resâspa]
(30) Chay estacionkuna REZA-SPA ('pray' - simul.) purinan 'At these resting-places he must begin with a prayer'
- [rèspetâspa]
(40) ... ñoqaykupas chaymi hinata payta RESPETA-SPA ('respect' - simul.), sumaqta voluntad trabajayku '... so we respect this, and we work with good will'
- [sèrvispálla]
(42) ... wawaykunata SERVI-SPA-LLA ('serve' - simul. - lim.) kashani mamitayta ima SERVISPALLA kaypi '... I am just looking after my children, I'm just looking after my mother here'

- [sufri spa]
(82) Imanaqtinta khaynanaraqta llakiri ñit'iwan memayta pusapun volcadapi SUFRI-SPA? ('suffer' - simul.) 'Why does sorrow follow me so, my mother suffering when she was taken away in an accident?
- [tenda la spa nku]
(23) Chayta TENDALA-SPA-NKU ('put in tendal' - simul. - 3rd pl. pres.), t'ipinku, cosechapunku 'They put this in the tendal and husk it and and gather it in there'
- [vend i spa]
(95) Calca llaqtapi sapa domingo rikukun imaymana runa lliu productokunana VENDE-SPA ('sell' - simul.) 'Every Sunday, you see all kinds of people in the village of Calca, selling many things'
- [vend i spa ña pas]
(1) Pobrepas chaypi imata VENDE-SPA-LLA-PAS ('sell' - simul. - lim. - 'even') allintan negociota ruwanku 'Even the poor sell all kinds of things and do good business'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-sqa/

/-sqa/ narrative or past participle. In CQ may also be the equivalent of /-sha/ (see p. 235 above) (see YL 35; EM 95-96, 281-282; GP 48-49; MY 54). S loans found in conjunction with /-sqa/ are bound forms of the verb stem class, with the exception of colerasqa where the informant appears to have mistaken cólera for an S loan verb, not a substantive.

S loans + /-sqa/ ± other Q suffixes)

- [akom pa ñas qa]
(1) Chaymanta Virgen Asunta lloqsimun, q'ala santokuna santokuna ACOMPANA-SQA ('accompany' - past part.) 'And then the Virgin Asunta comes out accompanied by many, many saints'
- [akom pa ñas qa]
(73) Rinku primerota warmiq taytanpa wasinta, pitopi tamborpi, lliu vecinokunaq ACOMPANA-SQA ('accompany' - past part.) 'First they go to the house of the father of the bride, with the pipe and drum, accompanied by many neighbours'
- [admir a qa]
(30) Chaymi Calcapiga ADMIRA-SQA ('admire' - past part.) lliupas kayku kay hatun sumaq costumbrewan 'We are admired here in Calca for this great and beautiful custom'

- [ànotásqa]
(36) Huj ANOTA-SQA ('note' - past part.) kaqtinmi gokun constanciata leyipa kamachikusqanta hunt'aspa 'When this has been recorded, the certificate is handed over according to the law'
- [àpurásqa]
(74) Señoray, APURA-SQA ('hurry' - past part.) kashani 'I am in a hurry, señora'
- [àsfaltásqa]
(20) Kunanga llaqta wiñashan callenkunapas kashan sumaq ASFALTA-SQA ('asphalt' - past part.) 'Now the town is growing, its roads are being well asphalted'
- [àtrasásqa]
(34) ... chay ayllukuna mana ATRASA-SQA ('be backward' - past part.) kananpaq '... so that these ayllus must not be backward'
- [àwtorisásqa]
(39) Huj hatun piscinan kan ... warmikuna ongoyninpaq especialmente AUTORIZA-SQA ('authorize' - past part.) 'There is this big pool ... specially recommended for women's diseases'
- [ařèglasqáta]
(73) ... lliu vecinokuna arreglanku wasita, allin ARREGLA-SQA-TA ('arrange' - past part. - obj.) '... many of the neighbours arrange the house, it is arranged well'
- [kəmbiásqai]
(91) Vaca sageymusqay y CAMBIA-SQA-Y ('change' - past part. - 1st s. poss.) vaca-ta rantikapusaq kasqanta 'The cow that I left and bartered, that cow I will buy again'
- [kaştigàsqařáetae]
(17) Así es que lliu wawankuna uywaqpaq allin CASTIGA-SQA-RAQ-TAQ ('punish' - past part. - 'because' - conn.) karani 'So I brought up all her children, and have paid for it dearly'
- [kulerásqa]
(61) ... hinaspa kaypi llank'apakuni, huj llakisqa hamuni reñiypaq, COLERA-SQA ('anger' - past part.) hamuni Calcatan '... and so I work here, I came here sad and rebellious, I came angrily to Calca'
- [kòntrolásqa]
(15) Kunanga nak'akun vacunasqa, allin CONTROLA-SQA ('control' - past part.) puestopi controlakun 'But now only the vaccinated and well-checked ones are slaughtered and are controlled at the police post'
- [kontròlasqáta]
(15) Chaymantataqmi ichaga allin CONTROLA-SQA-TA ('control' - past part. - obj.) apanku camalman 'And so perhaps they bring the properly checked ones to the abattoir'
- [krèesqaŋkúman]
(50) Pero ... muchas veces ... CREE-SQA-NKU-MAN ('believe' - past part. - 3rd pl. poss. - prop.) hina chayan tuta purispanku o suertenkucha compaňan (sic, the a is omitted) 'But

- ... often ... according to what they believe they arrive, walking at night, according to the fortune that goes with them'
- [desèpsj onásqa] (11) Ñogañataq rini ñoga DECEPCIONA-SQA ('deceive' - past part.) kasharani 'I went away and I was disheartened'
- [dèsesperásqa] (61) Chay unumantañataq DESESPERA-SQA ('despair' - past part.) quedakapuyku 'Now we were left in desperation because of the water'
- [dèsesperásqa] (82) DESESPERA-SQA ('despair' - past part.) purig kani 'In desperation I used to wander about'
- [enkargásqa] (40) ... ñogaykuqa empleado kayku ... chaypaq ENCARGA-SQA ('be responsible' - past part.) kayku '... and we are employees ... we are responsible for this'
- [ènxoyasqata] (19) Chay autoridadkunataqmi apanku ... angel voladorakunata angelchakunata allin ENJOYA-SQA-TA ('bejewel' - past part. - obj.) 'These authorities carry the flying angels, the nicely bejewelled little angels'
- [faltásqa] (67) ... hinaspatachá kay Perú llaqtanchis aswan hatun kanga ... imaymana FALTA-SQA-N ('lack' - past part. - 3rd s. poss.) hunt'achinankupaq '... and then perhaps our villages in Peru will be really big ... and all that they lack will be collected'
- [gjasqa] (73) Chaymantataqmi rinku waqamanta chaskiq GUIA-SQA ('guide' - past part.) 'And then they come from over there, guided by their messenger'
- [lìmpjasqaçâta] (18) ... LIMPIA-SQA-CHA-TA ('clean' - past part. - dim. - obj.) chaytaña costalkunapi huñupuspa cerveza-eríamanpas apamunki '... once it is all clean you gather it into sacks and take it to the brewery'
- [nasìsqáimàntapâça] (43) Señorita ñogaga runasimitaga yacharani desde NACI-SQA-Y-MANTA-PACHA ('be born' - past part. - 1st s. poss. - 'from' - 'since') 'Señorita, I have known Quechua since I was born'
- [òkupásqa] (3) ... pero paypas OCUPA-SQA ('be busy' - past part.) karan '... but she was busy too'
- [òkupásqa] (3) ... porque pay OCUPA-SQA ('be occupied' - past part.) sapa p'unchay karan '... because she was busy every day'
- [òrganisásqa] (28) ... lliu allin ORGANIZA-SQA ('organize' - past part.) kasqa '... everything was well organized'
- [pagásqa] (68) Chaypi huj runacha tiyan cuidaspa, PAGA-SQA ('pay' - past part.) 'This boy lives there, paid as caretaker'

- [pasásqa]
(17) ... manitaytaq PASA-SQA ('go' - narr.) wawata watayocota abuelachayman saqeykuspa '... so my mother went, leaving the one-year-old child with my grandmother'
- [pasásqa]
(22) PASA-SQA ('pass' - narr.) kimsa killa rikhurisqa piwanchá gochapi Yucay llaqtapi 'When three months had passed, he appeared in the lake of the village of Yucay, it's not known with whom'
- [plantásqa]
(98) Pedro de Zamora chayamuqtin kay pisonaykuna kargan PLANTA-SQA ('plant' - past part.) 'When Pedro de Zamora arrived, these pisonay trees were planted'
- [pròdusisqankúpi]
(86) Qolqe mañakusqankuta Banco de Fomento Agropecuariomanta, arroz PRODUCI-SQA-NKU-PI ('produce' - past part. - 3rd pl. poss. - loc.) kutichipunku 'They return their loans from the Agrarian Development Bank with their rice production'
- [pròtexísqa]
(17) ... Miranda papaytaq bastanteta PROTEGE-SQA ('protect' - narr.) '... Miranda, my father protected (us) very well'
- [keéásqa]
(98) Chaymi kay Vilcanota puriqtin kaypi askha rumikuna QUEDA-SQA ('leave' - narr.), hinaspa españolokuna chayamuqtin Qallqata churapusqa 'So when the Vilcanota passed here, many stones were left, and then the Spaniards arrived and founded Calca'
- [suseéésqa]
(84) Chayta tarikuspataq hampuyku llipiyku mana ima SUCEDE-SQA ('happen' - narr.) 'When we had found it we all came, but nothing happened to us'
- [tòmasqámpi]
(22) ... TOMA-SQA-N-PI ('drink' - past part. - 3rd s. poss. - loc.) chinkapusqa runantin llipin llank'asqa cosaskunawan '... while it was drinking, it disappeared, together with the man who was working and everything'
- [trəbaxasqáita]
(62) Kunan willayusqayki TRABAJA-SQA-Y-TA ('work' - past part. - 1st s. poss. - obj.) Yanawayllapi llank'arani 'Now I will tell you about my work, I worked in Yanawaylla'
- [trəduśisqa]
(45) Chaymi niranku paykuna "runasimi" nispa, castellanoman TRADUCI-SQA ('translate' - past part.) nin chayta "el idioma de los humanos" 'So they used to say "runasimi", and translated into Spanish this means "el idioma de los humanos"'
- [ùsasqáñku]
(50) ... wakin partekunapiga huj chay ñaupá runakuna USA-SQA-NKU ('use' - past part. - 3rd pl. poss.) karan alajakunata, tupukunata '... in many places the people in the old days used jewelry and shawl pins'

[vəkunásqa] (15)	<u>Kunanga nak'akun VACUNA-SQA</u> ('vaccinate' - past part.), <u>allin controlasqa, puestopi controlakun</u> 'But now only the vaccinated and well-checked ones are slaughtered and are controlled at the police post'
[vəndisqan̩kúta] (27)	<u>Hinaspa chay mankachatataq ... aparikunku paykuna, saratataq VENDE-SQA-NKU-TA</u> ('sell' - past part. - 3rd pl. poss. - obj.) <u>sagenku</u> 'Then these people bring their pots, and take the maize they have bought'
[vestísqa] (27)	<u>... chay salida hamunku yanakuna warmi qari, iskay soldadomanta VESTI-SQA</u> ('dress' - past part.) <u>p'achasqa</u> '... in this "salida" dance there are two black people, a man and a woman, dressed as soldiers'
[vestísqa] (95)	<u>Indiakunaga hamunku allin VESTI-SQA</u> ('dress' - past part.), <u>askha pollerantinta</u> 'The Indian women come, well-dressed and with many skirts'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-ta/

/-ta/ accusative, indicating the object or indirect object of the verb.

/-ta/ was also found in the corpus as the equivalent of /-man/, prepositive, e.g. mercadota 'to the market', and with a time sense, e.g.

horasta (see YL 29; JL 951; EM 55, 232-233; GP 39; MY 59-60).

S loans found in conjunction with /-ta/ are free forms of the substantive or adjective classes.

S loans + /-ta/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[əbonúta] (81)	<u>... punamantaga en cambio solamente guano ... este llamaq, ovejaq wanullanta churayku ABONO-TA</u> ('fertilizer' - obj.) '... on the other hand, we only put on sheep and llama ... droppings and fertilizer'
[əbweláta] (75)	<u>ABUELA-TA</u> ('grandmother' - obj.) <u>nin: pagarinmi fiestayki abuelay paton huj pavota hap'iruspa chayta mercadoman aparusaq</u> 'He said to his grandmother: tomorrow, grandma, is your birthday, and I will catch a duck or turkey, and take it to market'

- [adrilta] (81) Chaymantataq desinfectanaykupaqtaq ADRIL-TA ('Adril' - obj.) churayku 'And then in order to disinfect, we put on Adril'
- [alasenata] (71) ... chay cuartopi huj ALACENA-TA ('cupboard' - obj.) kichayku '... we open this cupboard in the room'
- [alkaldita] (59) Qhepatataq llaqta elegin ALCALDE-TA ('mayor' - obj.) 'And afterwards the village elects the mayor'
- [alkaldita] (59) ... sinoga gobierno directamenta nombramun ALCALDE-TA ('mayor' - obj.) '... but the government elects the mayor directly from there'
- [almasiguta] (67) ... imaynatachus ALMACIGO-TA ('nursery' - obj.) churana '... now the plant nursery has to be arranged'
- [almanakita] (75) ... hawaychan kasqa chay hawaynin ALMANAQUE-TA ('calendar' - obj.) ghawarusqa '... his grandson was there and his grandson looked at the calendar'
- [almwersuta] (14) ... noviokuna desde ponchemantapacha ch'isiyag invitakun AIMUERZO-TA ('lunch' - obj.) mikhunata '... in the afternoon the bride and groom offer everything from punch to lunch and food'
- [altarta] (22) ... chayqa arquerakuna kan, chay ALTAR-TA ('altar' - obj.) watanku '... and then there are the "arqueras" who set up the altar'
- [altarta] (59) Naupaq wataqku ALTAR-TA ('altar' - obj.) hatu-chachagta 'In the old days they set up a really enormous altar'
- [alumnado]ta] (52) Payqa yachachin askha ALUMNADO-TA ('student body' - obj.) 'She teaches a large group of students'
- [almalta] (73) ... lliu vecinokuna arreglanku wasita, allin arreglasqata, saqenku herrementata, saqenku ANIMAL-TA ('animal' - obj.) '... many of the neighbours arrange the house, it is arranged well, they leave tools, they leave animals'
- [alño]ta] (52) Payqa kunan actual yachachishan tercer AÑO-TA ('year' - obj.) 'At the moment he is teaching third year'
- [alpelas]o]nta] (31) ... sichus APELACION-TA ('appeal' - obj.) churakun chayqa hatun juez maskhaspa '... in the event of an appeal being lodged, the chief judge investigates'
- [alpoyuta] (33) En el desarrollo comunal ñoqayku llank'ayku, pero manan apoyoyku kanchu, gobierno faltan, APOYO-TA ('support' - obj.) mana apachimuwanku-chu 'We work in community development, but there is no support for us, the government fails, it doesn't send me support'

- [aradúta]
(18) Anchaymi vacatawan hondota ARADO-TA ('furrow' - obj.) kichan 'In this way, with oxen, he opens a deep furrow'
- [arósta]
(86) ... askhata ARROZ-TA ('rice' - obj.) horqomunku '... they harvest a lot of rice'
- [artifisjalésta]
(55) Kunan feriapi rikhuriyku chay Mamacha Asunta fiestanpi, fuegos ARTIFICIALES-TA ('artificial' - obj.) 'Now at this fair at the fiesta of the Virgin of the Assumption we saw fireworks'
- [asnúta]
(79) ASNO-TA ('donkey' - obj.) nin: haku, haku 'Hurry, hurry, he said to the donkey'
- [asuntáta]
(56) ... sapa p'unchay acompañayku Virgen ASUNTA-TA ('Asunta' - obj.) '... every day we go with the Virgin Asunta'
- [avjón̄ta]
(2) ... imaymanata ruwanku ... vacata, AVION-TA ('plane' - obj.), imaymana '... they make all sorts of things ... cows, planes, all sorts'
- [bandáta]
(59) Chaymanta chay semana tukukuqtin yapemanta huj BANDA-TA ('band' - obj.) habilitachillanitag 'At the end of this week, I again provide a band'
- [bandáta]
(60) ... mana apamunkuchu ni aswan allin musicata, BANDA-TA ('band' - obj.) '... they don't provide either good music or a band'
- [bàrbeçôta]
(81) Hatun tarpuytaga tarpunku, BARBECHO-TA ('hoeing' - obj.) ruwaspa 'They carry out the main sowing, having done the hoeing'
- [bàsinikaṭâcu]
(17) Acaso siquiera huj t'oga BASINICA-TA-CHU ('pot' - obj. - interr.) ni imata saqewanchu? 'Did he even so much as leave me a chamber-pot with a hole in it?'
- [bàstantíta]
(17) ... Miranda papaytag BASTANTE-TA ('enough' - obj.) protegesqa '... Miranda, my father, protected (us) very well'
- [bàstantíta]
(17) Tienda churananpaq qolgeta BASTANTE-TA ('plenty' - obj.) qosqa 'He gave plenty of money to set up the shop'
- [bàstantíta]
(20) Chay carretera kunan BASTANTE-TA ('plenty' - obj.) apamun huj movimiento comercialta Quillabamba llaqtaman 'This road now brings plenty of trade traffic to the town of Quillabamba'
- [baştón̄ta]
(78) ... huj qori fierro BASTON-TA ('rod' - obj.) ruwayachispa '... having this rod made of gold metal'
- [bekáta]
(32) ... chaypi kashaqtinmi BECA-TA ('grant' - obj.) gowaranku '... while I was there, they gave me a grant'

- [bendisjōnta]
(1) ... BENDICION-TA ('blessing' - obj.) sumaata inclinakuspayku chaskikuyku '... we kneel down and receive the wonderful blessing'
- [bendisjōnta]
(2) Ultimo p'unchayta ya tukuypiqa BENDICION-TA ('blessing' - obj.) chaskiyukunki 'At the end of the last day you receive the blessing'
- [bendisjōnta]
(56) Papaywan riyku BENDICION-TA ('blessing' - obj.) mañayakamuyku Mamachaman 'We go with my father and we ask for the Virgin's blessing'
- [bořegúta]
(73) ... chaymanta entregamun huj BORREGO-TA ('male sheep' - obj.), a veces orqo chinantinta '... then they hand over a sheep, sometimes a male together with a female'
- [kakáwta]
(20) Sirialo ukhupi, Icharati ladopitaq llank'anku CACAO-TA ('cacao' - obj.) 'Going in from Sirialo, by Icharati they produce cacao'
- [kaféta]
(20) Campesinokuna CAFE-TA ('coffee' - obj.) llan-k'anku cantidadespi 'The peasants produce coffee in bulk'
- [kalōrta]
(46) Haciendapiqa chayamuspaykuga, CALOR-TA ('heat' - obj.) mana aguantayta atispa bañakuyku unupi 'Having arrived at the farm, unable to bear the heat, we bathed in the water'
- [kampóta]
(56) CAMPO-TA ('country' - obj.) riyku paseaq, aire puro respiraq 'We go to the country to walk and breathe the fresh air'
- [kařgúta]
(1) Chaypi alferado atienden chay CARGO-TA ('charge' - obj.) 'Here the second-in-command is in charge'
- [kařgúta]
(2) Llaqta fiesta chaypi cargoyookuna CARGO-TA ('responsibility' - obj.) ruwanku 'Here at the village fiesta, the cargoyogs are in charge'
- [kařgúta]
(83) Así es que hinapi CARGO-TA ('cargo' - obj.) ruwayku kacharparipi huj gastollataq 'So we organize the "cargo" and we have more expenditure for the farewell'
- [kařgúta]
(83) Pascua CARGO-TA ('responsibility' - obj.) ruwarani señoracha 'I was in charge at Easter, Miss'
- [kařgúta]
(99) ... CARGO-TA ('responsibility' - obj.) ruwanku huj runa '... these men are in charge'
- [karúta]
(68) Viajanayku Vilcabambaman ... CARRO-TA ('car' - obj.) sageyku kikin hacienda punkupi 'For our journey to Vilcabamba we leave the car just at the gate of the farm'
- [kastelānúta]
(45) Chaymi kay idiomaqa kaypi rimana y iskaynin ladomanta, CASTELLANO-TA ('Spanish' - obj.),

- runasimita 'So this language is spoken here, and from both sides, Spanish and Quechua'
- [kàstelañúta]
(45) ... porque kay despachopiga hamuqkunaga ... rim-an CASTELLANO-TA ('Spanish' - obj.), runasimita '... because those that come to this office speak ... Spanish and Quechua'
- [kàstelañúta]
(52) Es que chay chicokuna punamantaga mana CASTELLANO-TA ('Spanish' - obj.) yachankuchu 'But the thing is these boys from the heights don't know Spanish'
- [kàstelañúta]
(52) Chaymi ñoga recomendani alumnokunata wasinkupi rimanankupaq CASTELLANO-TA ('Spanish' - obj.) 'So I advise my pupils to speak Spanish at home'
- [kàstelañúta]
(52) Karmi chicakuna mana allinta dominankuraqchu CASTELLANO-TA ('Spanish' - obj.) 'There are girls who still haven't mastered Spanish well'
- [kàstelañúta]
(66) ... porque mana servidumbrega ancha CASTELLANO-TA ('Spanish' - obj.) taripanchu '... because the servants don't understand much Spanish'
- [kàstelañúta]
(89) ... porque manataq entendenkuchu CASTELLANO-TA ('Spanish' - obj.) '... because they don't understand Spanish'
- [kàstelañotáqa]
(45) Paykunaga mana CASTELLANO-TA-QA ('Spanish' - obj. - emph.) allinta rimankuchu 'They don't speak Spanish well'
- [kàstelañotáway]
(43) ... porque papaykuna rimaranku quechuatawan, CASTELLANO-TA-WAN ('Spanish' - obj. - 'with') '... because my parents spoke in Quechua and Spanish'
- [kastigúta]
(87) Chaymanta Diosninchi CASTIGO-TA ('punishment' - obj.) qosqa 'So our God punished them'
- [kastigúta]
(87) Chaypin chay comulgao riqkuna wañupusqaku, CASTIGO-TA ('punishment' - obj.) kuqtin 'There the communicants died, they were punished'
- [sebađáta]
(23) ... alturanpitaq, punapitaq papata, lisasta, oqata, trigo, CEBADA-TA ('barley' - obj.) chaykunata llank'anku '... and in the heights, in the punas, they produce potatoes, lisas, ogas, wheat, barley, these things'
- [sebađáta]
(64) Chaymanta apamuyku ñogayku CEBADA-TA ('barley' - obj.), q'epimuyku papata 'Then we bring barley, we bring bundles of potatoes'
- [sertifikadúta]
(36) Chay CERTIFICADO-TA ('certificate' - obj.) chaskispa ruwakun huj partida de defunciones 'When this certificate is received, the death certificate is made out'

- [sèrvesáta]
(2) ... cargoyokkunaga CERVEZA-TA ('beer' - obj.) lliu genteta invitaspa machasganku '... the office-bearers, offering beer to everyone, get drunk'
- [sèrvesáta]
(57) Memitayman askhata vermoutta, CERVEZA-TA ('beer' - obj.) ... hap'iyachinku 'They made my mother take ... a lot of vermouth and beer'
- [êikáta]
(3) Chayqa ñoga reqsirani huj CHICA-TA ('girl' - obj.) Sonya sutiyoqta 'And then I got to know this girl called Sonya'
- [sìgañúta]
(40) ... CIGARRO-TA ('cigarettes' - obj.) vendeyku, papel selladota, timbrekunata llipinman '... we sell cigarettes, official paper and stamps to everyone'
- [sìnturonjtáraq]
(18) Soq'aspachá CINTURON-TA-RAQ ('belt' - obj. - 'still') q'echurusaq 'Perhaps by beating you I will twist your waist'
- [sivíltá]
(36) Chayta hunt'aspa matrimonio CIVIL-TA ('civil' - obj.) celebrakun 'When this is completed, the civil wedding is celebrated'
- [klásíta]
(2) ... fuegos artificiales imaymana CLASE-TA ('kind' - obj.) ruwanku '... they let off fireworks of all kinds'
- [kòmersjálta]
(20) Chay carreterakunan bastanteta apamun huj movimiento COMMERCIAL-TA ('trade' - obj.) Quillabamba llaqtaman 'This road now brings plenty of trade traffic to the town of Quillabamba'
- [kopdenaóota]
(78) Fierro bastonninwan salvapusqa CONDENADO-TA ('wicked man' - obj.) 'With his iron stick he rescued the wicked man'
- [kònstansjéta]
(36) Huj anotasqa kaqtinmi gokun CONSTANCIA-TA ('certificate' - obj.) leypa kamachikusqanta hunt'aspa 'When this has been recorded, the certificate is handed over according to the law'
- [koñáltá]
(81) ... kaypi churayku ... guano CORRAL-TA ('cattle pen' - obj.) allin ismusqata '... here we put on ... animal dung, well rotted'
- [koseêáta]
(38) ... sichus mana allinta llank'asunchis chaypa-chaga manan allinta COSECHA-TA ('harvest' - obj.) hogarisunchu '... because unless we work well, we won't harvest a good crop'
- [koseêáta]
(67) Chaynata ruwallaqtinchismi allinta ruruqtin sumagta hogarisunman COSECHA-TA ('harvest' - obj.) 'When we work well, it yields plenty, we get a good harvest'
- [kostumbríta]
(73) Huj comunidad Chacabamba sutiyoq llank'arani, chaypin rikhurani kay COSTUMBRE-TA ('custom' - obj.) matrimoniokunapi 'I used to work in

the community of Chacabamba, and there I witnessed these marriage ceremonies.

[krústa]
(83)

Chaymanta kaq cargo gallarinaypaq apayachimull-anitaq taytachata santísimo CRUZ-TA ('cross' - obj.), golqe sutiyog chay taytacha 'Then for the beginning of the "cargo" I have brought a holy crucifix with the Lord, this crucifix is called the silver one'

[kwaérata]
(10)

P'isamanta yaga tawa CUADRA-TA ('block' - obj.) purispatag, cerro patapi rikhuriyku 'From P'isag we walked almost four blocks and found ourselves on the top of the hill'

[dèsimósta]
(50)

... chay haujt'iruspanku tarinkus o nueve DECIMOS-TA ('tenths' - obj.) kaspa otaq qorita '... it is said that when they dug here they found "nueve decimos" or gold'

[dèsimostarâmi]
(83)

Chay nueve DECIMOS-TA-RAQ-MI ('tenths' - obj. - 'still' - emph.) gastag kayku chay cargopi 'We even used to spend these 9 "decimos" on this patronage'

[dèmografikúta]
(36)

... hamunku wawankuta apamuspa kaypi huj cuadro DEMOGRAFICO-TA ('demographic' - obj.) qoqtinmi posta medicaman rinku '... they come here bringing their children and go to the medical post when we give them a demographic plan'

[dèsayuníta]
(6)

... chaymanta DESAYUNO-TA ('breakfast' - obj.) mikhuni '... and then I eat breakfast'

[dèskansúta]
(59)

... ayllu runakuna, kimsa partemanta kunan wata ruwanku DESCANSO-TA ('altar' - obj.) '... the people from the ayllu, from three places, are making the altar this year'

[dèsgraníta]
(5)

Tipiyta tukuotinkuqa gallarikun DESGRANE-TA ('to take off grain' - obj.) 'When they have finished the husking, they begin to take the grain off'

[dèsordénta]
(1)

... tukuy DESORDEN-TA ('uproar' - obj.) ruwanku '... they create a complete uproar'

[dètenidúta]
(89)

... apamun preso, DETENIDO-TA ('prisoner' - obj.) hina '... and so he brings the prisoner, the man under arrest'

[djarjéta]
(6)

Wasiman rini ... chaymanta DIARIO-TA ('newspaper' - obj.) leeni 'I go home ... and then I read the paper'

[djásta]
(55)

Chaykuna kimsa DIAS-TA ('days' - obj.) fiestan karan 'Then there were three days of fiesta'

[djósta]
(87)

Huancata kay fiestaman ñoqayku riyku porque DIOS-TA ('God' - obj.) munaspa 'We go to this

- fiesta in Huanca because it pleases God'
- [diplomáta]
(3) Chaymantataq señorita Amparo ... pay huj DIPLOMA-TA ('diploma' - obj.) horgon señora Campana 'And then Miss Amparo issued this certificate to Mrs. Campana'
- [divisjón̄ta]
(3) ... restata, sumata, multiplicación, DIVISION-TA ('division' - obj.) gowaq kanku '... they gave us subtraction, addition, multiplication and division'
- [domingotátaq]
(57) DOMINGO-TA-TAQ ('Sunday' - obj. - conn.) misaman rini 'And on Sunday I go to mass'
- [dòstatáemi]
(19) ... la unata gallarín entrada ... la una, las DOS-TA-TAQ-MI ('two' - obj. - conn. - aff.) cera apaypi '... at one o'clock the entrance starts ... at one and at two o'clock they take the candles'
- [èdukasjón̄ta]
(34) ... allin EDUCACION-TA ('education' - obj.) yachachinankupaq '...for the teaching of a good education'
- [èxersisjón̄ta]
(6) ... chaymanta EJERCICIOS-TA ('exercises' - obj.) ruwani '... and then I do exercises'
- [èempleadót̄a]
(48) Animalniykuna qhawapactaq huj EMPLEADO-TA ('employee' - obj.) maskhakuni 'I am looking for an employee to keep an eye on the animals'
- [èempleadót̄a]
(48) ... chayrayku kunanga EMPLEADO-TA ('employee' - obj.) maskhakuni '... because of this I am now looking for a servant'
- [enterút̄a]
(71) ... qatin ENTERO-TA ('whole' - obj.) ñanta purin '... he went and followed him all along the road'
- [enterút̄a]
(73) Antarata tocayuspa purin, ENTERO-TA ('all' - obj.) 'He goes along playing the pan pipes all the time'
- [èskriturát̄a]
(48) Y chayraq kunanñoga ESCRITURA-TA ('document' - obj.) ruwaniña 'Only now do I make out the document'
- [èskwelát̄a]
(3) Ñoga ESCUELA-TA ('school' - obj.) haykuspa primer p'unchayta abrilpi haykuspa 'I come to school, I come on the first of April'
- [espìngotáwan]
(81) ... porque mawaytaga solamente churayku ... ESPINGO-TA-WAN ('clover' - obj. - 'with') '... because we only put the early potatoes in with clover'
- [èstasjón̄ta]
(30) ... ESTACION-TA ('station (of the cross)' - obj.) ruwaspayku '... we do the stations of the cross'

- [èstandartíta]
(27) ... huj ESTANDARTE-TA-N ('standard' - obj. - aff.)
apanku, sumaq ESTANDARTE-TA ('standard' - obj.)
Mamacha Asuntaq '... they bring out the flag,
the beautiful flag of the Virgin Asunta'
- [èxsaménta]
(84) ... chay intia lloqsimusqanta rikuspa kaykunata
profesoraykuman goyku ima rikusqaykuta EXAMEN-TA
('exam' - obj.) hina '... when we had been to
see the sunrise, we submitted an exam to our
teacher on what we had seen'
- [fàináta]
(12) ... FAENA-TA ('communal work' - obj.) ruwanku
'... they do the communal work'
- [fjeřúta]
(18) Chaymanmi rejata watakun ... FIERRO-TA ('blade'
- obj.) lasowan 'In this way the blade is
tied ... to a metal stake with a cord'
- [fjeřúta]
(18) ... anchayman huj FIERRO-TA ('metal' - obj.)
cabechispa '... making this metal fit well'
- [fjeřtáta]
(1) ... aswan peor machaq kanku chay FIESTA-TA ('fes-
tival' - obj.) suyanku machanankupaq '... there
used to be many more drunks at this festival,
they expect to get drunk'
- [fjeřtáta]
(16) Wakin gastopi ... wakin padrinoqa huj p'unchay-
-ta apakun FIESTA-TA ('fiesta' - obj.) 'The
other sponsor ... pays the rest of the expenses
for one day of the fiesta'
- [fjeřtáta]
(16) Padrinoqa ... huj p'unchayta apakun FIESTA-TA
('fiesta' - obj.) ahijadokunapaq 'The sponsor
... organizes the fiesta day for his protégés'
- [fjeřtáta]
(19) Paucartambo llaqtapi FIESTA-TA ('festival' - obj.)
willashayki 'I am telling you about the
fiesta in the town of Paucartambo'
- [fjeřtáta]
(60) ... mana sumaqtachu FIESTA-TA ('festival' - obj.)
ruwan cargoyog '... the sponsor does not put
on a splendid fiesta'
- [fjeřtáta]
(72) ... chaypi ruwanku FIESTA-TA ('fiesta' - obj.),
pitowan, tamborwan '... here they celebrate
with a pipe and drum'
- [fjeřtáta]
(72) Hagay ladopi acostumbranku q'ala familiakuna
FIESTA-TA ('festival' - obj.) t'inkanku
vacakunata 'Over there every family has the
custom of pouring out a libation on the cattle'
- [folklorikáta]
(27) Chaymantataq ghawanki cuestión FOLKLORICA-TA
('folkloric' - obj.) 'And then you see the
folklore side'
- [folklorikúta]
(28) ... hinapi iskayta jardinta visitayku, ochenti-
ochota y jardín FOLKLORICO-TA ('folk' - obj.)
'... there we visited two kindergartens, number
88 and the folk kindergarten'

- [fòmularjùta]
(36) Chaypaqpas huj llank'aqmi huj FORMULARIO-TA
('form' - obj.) chaywan rinku posta medicaman
'To do this the workers go with this form to the medical post'
- [frasadâta]
(87) Rantispa apamuyku ñocayku haqaymanta ropakunata,
ponchota, lliqllata, FRAZADA-TA ('blanket' - obj.)
'Having bought clothes, cloaks, shawls and blankets, we bring them back'
- [frutâta]
(95) Chaymanta misa tukuruqtinga haykuni mercadota,
FRUTA-TA ('fruit' - obj.) rantikuni 'And then
when mass is over, I come to the market and buy fruit'
- [galuta]
(12) GALLO-TA ('cock' - obj.) pichâ aywanga anchaymi
chay regidor kanga 'Whoever reaches the cock
is always the councillor'
- [ganâsta]
(58) ... allinta ñoga ruwani llipinta, ima GANAS-TA
('enthusiasm' - obj.) kani '... I do every-
thing well, and I'm very enthusiastic'
- [gastûta]
(2) ... imaymana GASTO-TA ('expense' - obj.) ruwanku
'... they have all sorts of expenses'
- [gastûta]
(16) Chay padrino munakuypipas GASTO-TA ('expense' -
obj.) ruwakun 'Wanting a sponsor also requires
expense'
- [gastûta]
(83) Chay GASTO-TA ('expense' - obj.) wasi gastokunapi
lliu mikhusqankunapi 'There are many expenses
in food for the home'
- [xentita]
(2) ... cargoyokunaga cervezata lliu GENTE-TA
('people' - obj.) invitaspa machasqanku
'... the office-bearers, offering beer to every-
one, get drunk'
- [gradâta]
(10) ... profesorapas urmayapun iskay GRADA-TA
('step' - obj.) '... even a teacher fell down
two steps as she was going up'
- [âsjendâta]
(47) Ñoga hamurgani kay misión HACIENDA-TA ('farm' -
obj.) 'I came to this mission farm'
- [âsjendâta]
(63) ... imaymanatan maganakuywan kay HACIENDA-TA
('farm' - obj.) hap'iran '... he got hold of
the farm with a lot of fighting'
- [âsjendâta]
(91) Urco HACIENDA-TA ('farm' - obj.) gringo Billman
risaq watukuq porque amigoy kaq 'I shall go
to the Urco farm to ask about the foreigner
Billman, because he is my friend'
- [âsjendâta]
(99) Fiestapi haykuyku HACIENDA-TA ('farm' - obj.)
'At fiesta time we go to the farm'
- [eramentâta]
(73) ... sagenku HERRAMIENTA-TA ('tool' - obj.)
sagenku animalta '... they leave tools, they
leave animals'

- [onđótą] (18) Anchaymi vacatawan HONDO-TA ('deep' - obj.) ara-dota kichan 'In this way, with oxen, he opens a deep furrow'
- [onórtą] (89) Cristiano kaqtinku mana kaqtinkutą, promesa de honor, sullk'akunatapap promesa de HONOR-TA ('Honour' - obj.) chaskin 'Whether they are Christians or not, he receives the oath of honour from minors'
- [oráštą] (6) Tardepi ima HORAS-TA ('hours' - obj.) rinki? 'What time do you go in the afternoon?'
- [oráštą] (6) Ima HORAS-TA ('hours' - obj.) lloqsinki colegio-ykimanta? 'What time do you come out of your school?'
- [oráštą] (8) Chaymantaga lloqsimunku tuta HORAS-TA ('hours' - obj.) escapakunku wasinmanta 'And then during the hours of the night they leave their homes and escape'
- [ornaltăcu] (59) Paykunataqmi gananku mana HORNAL-TA-CHU ('daily wage' - obj. - neg.) sino hurk'allata 'These men don't earn a daily wage, but just a small tip'
- [welăta] (88) Reclusokunata, analfabetokunata firmachini, HUELLA-TA ('finger-print' - obj.) churachini 'I get those who cannot get out and those who cannot read to sign, and have them do their finger-prints'
- [idjomătaŋ] (36) Kay oficinapiqa iskey IDIOMA-TA-N ('language' - obj. - aff.) rimanku 'In this office they speak both languages'
- [impweštută] (86) ... IMPUESTO-TA ('tax' - obj.) cocamantapas aguardiente cañamantapas cobrakun '... a tax is levied on both coca and sugar-cane alcohol'
- [interéštą] (20) ... a lo menos autoridadninkuna INTERES-TA ('interest' - obj.) tomanku llaqtaq wiñananpaq '... at least their authorities take an interest in the growth of the village'
- [islăta] (46) ... chaypi huj ISLA-TA ('island' - obj.) haykura-yku '... and here we came to this island'
- [xardıntą] (28) ... hinapi iskayta JARDIN-TA ('kindergarten' - obj.) visitayku '... there we visited two kindergartens'
- [xwéštą] (45) Kaypi ñogaa JUEZ-TA ('judge' - obj.) nini carcel-manta lloqsinanpaq o carcelman haykunanpaq 'And so I tell the judge if he is to come out of prison or go into prison'
- [xwéštą] (88) ... ñoga comprendechini JUEZ-TA ('judge' - obj.) '... I make the judge understand'

- [xuramentúta]
(89) Chaymi kaypi primerta chaskini testigokunataqa JURAMENTA-TA ('oath' - obj.) 'So here I receive the first oath from the witnesses'
- [xusgaóota]
(45) Chaymanta tapukuspa JUZGADO-TA ('court' - obj.) rini 'Then I go to the courthouse to make inquiries'
- [laáúta]
(62) Chaymanta ... purirani Makusani LADO-TA ('side' - obj.) 'And then ... I went over to Makusani'
- [laáutañátae]
(71) Chayqa huj LADO-TA-ÑA-TAQ ('side' - obj. - 'now' - conn.) t'ogoyta gallarisqa 'And so now he began to make a hole on this side'
- [laáutañátae]
(77) Kunanga ripusag huj LADO-TA-ÑA-TAQ ('side' - obj. - 'now' - conn.) 'And now I shall go away over there'
- [lasúta]
(73) Chaymanta entregamun segaderata, LASO-TA ('rope' - obj.) 'And then he hands over a sickle and a rope'
- [leksjón̄ta]
(58) ... chaymanta difficultan, sapa LECCION-TA ('lesson' - obj.) mana atin entendedchinaypaq '... because of this she has difficulty, she cannot make herself understood in any of the lessons'
- [lègalidáeta]
(47) Imaynataq chay yunka Convención Huyropi kasqaypi tarirganichu LEGALIDAD-TA ('legality' - obj.) llank'aqkunawan pagagtapas 'And there in Huyro in the Convención valley, I did not find justice in the workers' pay'
- [legaltácu]
(47) ... y paykuna ... mana LEGAL-TA-CHU ('legal' - obj. - neg.) wajchakunaman pagacku aswanpas en-gañacku '... and they ... didn't pay the poor people legally, on the contrary they deceived them'
- [lávita]
(68) ... LLAVE-TA ('key' - obj.) aparipuspayku '... we take away the key'
- [lomáta]
(85) ... LOMA-TA ('hillside' - obj.) ovejata qatiri-kuspa '... herding the sheep on the hill'
- [lústa]
(13) Wiragochataq LUZ-TA ('light' - obj.) chaupi quintal pampapi iskay LUZ-TA churachimun 'The boss has had a light, two lights, put in the middle of the drying area in the field'
- [manifestasjón̄ta]
(16) ... señor curaqpi MANIFESTACION-TA ('declaration' - obj.) churaspa '... submitting the document at the priest's'
- [mañanáta]
(19) ... cargo misataqmi las diez de la MAÑANA-TA ('morning' - obj.) '... the office of mass is at 10 o'clock in the morning'

- [mãñanãta]
(19) ... cargo misan las diez de la MAÑANA-TA ('morning' - obj.) '... there is the office of mass at ten in the morning'
- [mãñanãta]
(84) ... bueno rikuyku inti q lloqsimusqanta las cuatro de la MAÑANA-TA ('morning' - obj.) '... well, we went to the sunrise at 4 o'clock in the morning'
- [mãñanãta]
(99) Kaymanta tutallaraq haykuran las cinco de la MANANA-TA ('morning' - obj.) 'Leaving here very early, I got there at five in the morning'
- [mãsta]
(20) ... Icharati ladopitaq llank'anku cacaota, San Pedro chaykunapi cacaota MAS-TA ('more' - obj.) '... by Icharati they produce cacao, and around San Pedro even more cacao'
- [mãsta]
(23) Chaypi tomanku MAS-TA ('more' - obj.) ... aqhata MAS-TA tomanku 'Here they drink more ... they drink more maize beer'
- [mãsta]
(43) ... runasimipi MAS-TA ('more' - obj.) parlayku comunidad runakunawan '... we speak more Quechua with the people from the communities'
- [mãsta]
(83) Pagani yaqa iskay pacha MAS-TA ('more' - obj.) curaman 'I pay up to almost two hundred more to the priest'
- [mãstaçã]
(33) ... porque paykunapas kallpachamaqtinkuqa ñoqay-kupas aswan MAS-TA-CHã ('more' - obj. - dub.) churaykuman escuelaykutapas '... because if they reinforced us we might also put in much more for our school'
- [mayúta]
(58) Chaymanta hamuni kaypi killa MAYO-TA ('May - obj.) 'And so I came here in the month of May'
- [mèd'jotãpas]
(68) ... manan cobraykuchu ni MEDIO-TA-PAS ('50 cents' - obj. - 'even') '... we don't even charge him fifty cents'
- [mexórtã]
(32) ... riman aswan MEJOR-TA ('better' - obj.) ñoqamantaga '... he speaks a lot better than I do'
- [mèrkadúta]
(95) ... lliu Calca llagtan haykun MERCADO-TA ('market' - obj.) '... many people come to the Cuzco village market'
- [mèrkadúta]
(95) Chaymanta misa tukuruqtinga haykuni MERCADO-TA ('market' - obj.), frutata rantikuni 'And then when mass is over, I come to the market and buy fruit'
- [mèrjendãta]
(18) Chay tukuytataqmi tardenta diurnokuna samapunku, MERIENDA-TA ('snack' - obj.) mikhuspanku 'The daily labourers rest and eat their snack at the end of the afternoon'

- [mèrjendâta]
(98) Chaymanta MERIENDA-TA ('snack' - obj.) sumagta ruwachiyku 'We have a good snack made for them'
- [mjèrkolestâña]
(2) Lunes, martes, MIERCOLES-TA-ÑA ('Wednesday' - obj. - 'now') procesión lloqsimun 'Now on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, the procession goes round'
- [mìlagrúta]
(87) Chaymanta chayta MILAGRO-TA ('miracle' - obj.) ruwan ... Diosninchis ... chay cristianokunapag 'Then God ... did this miracle ... for these Christians'
- [mìlagrúta]
(87) MILAGRO-TA ('miracle' - obj.) ... Señor de Huan-capi ruwaran 'The Lord of Huanca did the ... miracle'
- [mìlta]
(2) ... gastanku mil sol, veintidos MIL-TA ('thousand' - obj.) '... they spend a thousand soles, twenty-two thousand soles'
- [misâta]
(23) Chaymanta rinku MISA-TA ('mass' - obj.) 'And then they go to mass'
- [misâta]
(30) ... chaypi santa MISA-TA ('mass' - obj.) mast'ar-imuspan Diospa '... here he celebrates God's holy mass'
- [misâta]
(99) Chaypi MISA-TA ('mass' - obj.) yvariylku 'Here we hear mass'
- [moñtîta]
(46) Chaymanta riyku MONTE-TA ('mountain' - obj.) 'Then we went up the mountain'
- [mùsikâta]
(60) ... mana apamunkuchu ni aswan allin MUSICA-TA ('music' - obj.), bandata '... they don't provide either good music or a band'
- [negosjûta]
(1) Pobrepas chaypi imata vendespallapas allintan NEGOCIO-TA ('business' - obj.) ruwanku 'Even the poor sell all kinds of things and do good business'
^ * (SEE BELOW)
^ ** (" ")
- [nègratâtaemi]
(41) Coca NEGRA-TA-TAQ-MI ('black' - obj. - conn. - aff.) ruwanku 'They manufacture black coca'
- [noçîta]
(19) Chay vispera ... a las siete de la NOCHE-TA ('night' - obj.) fuegos artificiales t'ogan 'At seven ... on this evening the fireworks go off'
- [nòçitâtaemi]
(19) Las once, doce de la NOCHE-TA-TAQ-MI ('night' - obj. - conn. - aff.) a'ala rinku, lllipin tusuqkuna 'At eleven or twelve at night all the dancers go'
- *[negosjôta]
(1) ... allintan NEGOCIO-TA ('business' - obj.) ruwanku '... they do good business'

- **[negosjótą] (95) ... allinta chay NEGOCIO-TA ('business' - obj.) paykuna qolqeta gananku 'with this good business, they earn money'
- [normá]ta] (58) Sicuni estudiantanta NORMAL-TA ('teacher-training college' - obj.) hamuni 'I have come from my studies in the teacher-training college in Sicuni'
- [normá]ta] (58) ... NORMAL-TA ('normal school' - obj.) tawa wata ñoga estudiakuni '... I studied teacher-training for four years'
- [notáta] (84) Chaymantataq según examen qosqaykuman hina NOTA-TA ('mark' - obj.) horgoyku 'And then according to the exam we did, we got a mark'
- [nwevita] (57) ... cineman haykuyku, las NUEVE-TA ('nine' - obj.) hampuspa '... we go to the cinema, coming out at nine o'clock'
- [oçèptioçótą] (28) ... hinapi iskayta jardinta visitayku, OCHENTI-OCHO-TA ('eighty-eight' - obj.) y jardín folklórico '... there we visited two kindergartens, number 88 and the folk kindergarten'
- [oçótą] (99) Urquillos chayani las OCHO-TA ('eight' - obj.) 'I get to Urquillos at eight o'clock'
- [ovexáta] (27) ... animalchakunata, vacata, OVEJA-TA ('sheep' - obj.) ... apamunku '... they bring ... little animals, cows and sheep'
- [ovexáta] (78) Escuela compañeronkunata maqaspa wañuchipusqa, OVEJA-TA ('sheep' - obj.) michichisqa 'He killed his school friends by beating them, and they made him herd sheep'
- [ovexáta] (85) Antes ñogaga ... sufrido karani, lomata OVEJA-TA ('sheep' - obj.) qatirikuspa 'Before ... I used to suffer, herding the sheep on the hill'
- [ovejatápas] (49) ... morayata cambiakamuni y OVEJA-TA-PAS ('sheep' - obj. - 'even') rantimunitaq '... I barter moraya and even buy sheep'
- [pagúta] (18) Ripushanku jornalninkuta chaskiyukuspa, PAGO-TA ('wage' - obj.) chaskiyukuspa 'They go after having received their day's wage, their pay'
- [palilíotáwan] (20) ... café, coca, achiote y pocota PALILLO-TA-WAN ('palillo dye' - obj. - 'with') llank'anku '... they produce coffee, coca and achiote, together with a little palillo dye'
- [pantálóntą] (46) Chaymantaga por fin PANTALON-TA ('trousers' - obj.) ch'ustikusunchis 'And then eventually we took off our trousers'
- [partíta] (66) Kay escuelapipuni quechuapi kamachiyku la mayor PARTE-TA ('part' - obj.) 'In this school we have to give orders in Quechua for the most part'

- [paštôrtâ]
(48) ... chayrayku kunanga empleadota maskhakuni, PASTOR-TA ('shepherdess' - obj.) o sea animalkuna michiqta '... because of this I am now looking for a servant, as a shepherdess or herder of sheep'
- [patûta]
(75) PATO-TA ('duck' - obj.) askhata uywakusqaku 'They reared a lot of ducks'
- [patriâta]
(66) PATRIA-TA ('country' - obj.) servisharanitaq 'I was serving the country'
- [pavûta]
(27) Chay suwakuna nin: haydâpitaq kay PAVO-TA ('turkey' - obj.) vendepuwankiman? 'These robbers said: for how much would you sell this turkey to us?'
- [pavûta]
(75) ... huj PAVO-TA ('turkey' - obj.) hap'iruspa chayta mercadoman aparusaq '... when I have caught this turkey I will take it to the market'
- [platûta]
(16) ... huj PLATO-TA ('plate' - obj.) churanku mesa pataman '... they put their plates on the table'
- [plasâta]
(27) Llipin Calca hamun PLAZA-TA ('plaza' - obj.) 'The whole of Calca comes to the plaza'
- [plasâta]
(56) Días domingokunataga rini PLAZA-TA ('plaza' - obj.) paseakamuni 'On Sundays I go out for a walk to the plaza'
- [plasâta]
(57) Domingotataq misaman rini, PLAZA-TA ('plaza' - obj.) haykuni 'On Sunday I go to mass, and come to the plaza'
- [pobrita]
(47) ... huj POBRE-TA ('poor man' - obj.) rikuspaga, engañayllawan rinku '... when they see a poor man, they deceive him'
- [pokôta]
(20) ... café, coca, achiote y POCO-TA ('little' - obj.) palillotawan llank'anku '... they produce coffee, coca and achiote together with a little palillo dye'
- [ponçîta]
(57) ... mayninpiqa PONCHE-TA ('punch' - obj.) ima tomamuyku '... we drink punch wherever we are'
- [ponçôta]
(87) Rantispa apamuyku ñoqayku haqaymanta ropakunata, PONCHO-TA ('poncho' - obj.) lliqlлата, frazadata 'Having bought clothes, cloaks, shawls and blankets, we bring them back'
- [primerâta]
(13) Permirusa /by metathesis from primeroga / kuraq PRIMERA-TA ('first' - obj.) sarakunata permirata / PRIMERA-TA / horgon, chaymanta hut'uta ... ajllargachin 'First he took out the first grade maize, then he had the rotten ... selected'

[prìmerúta] (73)	<u>Rinku PRIMERO-TA</u> ('first' - obj.) <u>warmi q taytanpa wasinta</u> 'First of all they go to the house of the woman's father'
[prìmerúta] (79)	<u>... puñuspanku gallo rikhurusqa PRIMERO-TA</u> ('first' - obj.) <u>huj k'anchayta chinpamanta</u> '... as they slept, the cock saw first a light ahead'
[priméřta] (17)	<u>Noqa Miranda kani, PRIMER-TA</u> ('first' - obj.) <u>wachakuwasqa Mirandagta mamitay</u> 'I am a Miranda, my mother bore me first to Miranda'
[priméřta] (81)	<u>... mawayqa PRIMER-TA</u> ('first' - obj.) <u>tarpukun</u> '... first of all the early potatoes are sown'
[primértã] (89)	<u>Chaymi kaypi PRIMER-TA</u> ('first' - obj.) <u>chaskini testigokunataga juramentota</u> 'So here I receive the first oath from the witnesses'
[primértã] (95)	<u>Chayqa PRIMER-TA</u> ('first' - obj.) <u>rini misa oyeriq</u> 'So first of all I go and hear mass'
[prìmertãqa] (16)	<u>Casarakunapaqqa PRIMER-TA-QA</u> ('first' - obj. - emph.) <u>padrinokunata maskhakamuna</u> 'Sponsors must first be sought in order that they may marry'
[prìmerťãqa] (32)	<u>... maestron kani PRIMER-TA-QA</u> ('first' - obj. - emph.) '... in the first place I am a teacher'
[purotãçu] (45)	<u>... chayqa manan runasimi PURO-TA-CHU</u> ('pure' - obj. - neg.) <u>ñoga rimayman</u> '... so I may not speak pure Quechua'
[řatúta] (7)	<u>Panaywan pujllamuni, RATO-TA</u> ('moment' - obj.) <u>leemuni libroskunata</u> 'I play with my brother, and sometimes I read books'
[řeatãta] (77)	<u>... rescatapunku REATA-TA</u> ('reins' - obj.) '... they saved the harnesses'
[rextúta] (18)	<u>... "gañon" sutiyoq runa wachuta RECTO-TA</u> ('straight' - obj.) <u>ruwaspa</u> '... the man making a straight furrow is called a "gañon"'
[regalúta] (14)	<u>... chayqa REGALO-TA</u> ('present' - obj.) <u>apachinan noviokunaman</u> '... and then he has to take a present to the engaged couple'
[rexãta] (18)	<u>Chaymanmi REJA-TA</u> ('blade' - obj.) <u>watakun ... fierrota lasowan</u> 'In this way the blade is tied ... to a metal stake with a rope'
[rexãta] (23)	<u>... aradowan REJA-TA</u> ('blade' - obj.) <u>watayuspa</u> '... tying the blade on to the plough'
[rèlasjõntã] (53)	<u>... RELACION-TA</u> ('report' - obj.) <u>ruwani</u> '... I give a report'

[rèñenúta] (95)	<u>Chaymanta ruwanku rocoto RELLENO-TA</u> ('stuffed' - obj.) 'And then they make stuffed peppers'
[řemedjóta] (82)	<u>Desesperasqa puria kani mana ima REDEDIO-TA</u> ('cure' - obj.) <u>churayta atispa</u> 'In desperation I wandered about, not being able to find any cure'
[restáta] (3)	<u>... RESTA-TA</u> ('subtraction' - obj.), <u>sumata, multiplicación divisionta qowaq kanku</u> '... they gave us subtraction, addition, multiplication and division'
[sàlvađórta] (94)	<u>... rirani San SALVADOR-TA</u> ('Salvador' - obj.) '... I went to San Salvador'
[sègaderáta] (72)	<u>Chaymanta entregamun SEGADERA-TA</u> ('sickle' - obj.) <u>lasota</u> 'And then he hands over a sickle and a rope'
[segundáta] (13)	<u>... chaymanta SEGUNDA-TA</u> ('second' - obj.) <u>ajllargachin</u> '... then he had the second grade ... selected'
[sel̥ađúta] (40)	<u>... cigarrota vendeyku, papel SELLADO-TA</u> ('sealed' - obj.) <u>timbrekunata llipinman</u> '... we sell cigarettes, official paper and stamps to everyone'
[silensjóta] (24)	<u>Chay SILENCIO-TA</u> ('silence' - obj.) <u>aprovechaspa chayta ruwakun chay runa</u> 'Taking advantage of this silence, the man did it'
[súlta] (59)	<u>Paykunataqmi gananku ... pusaq SOL-TA</u> ('sol' - obj.) <u>sapa p'unchay</u> 'These men earn ... eight soles a day'
[súlta] (83)	<u>... lliuta gastani yaga iskay waranga SOL-TA</u> ('sol' - obj.) '... I spend a lot, almost 2,000 soles'
[sòñserásta] (71)	<u>... SONSERAS-TA</u> ('foolishness' - obj.) <u>rimashanki</u> '... you are talking rubbish'
[sòñsotáqa] (76)	<u>Hinaspa SONSO-TA-QA</u> ('fool' - obj. - emph.) <u>nisqa llant'aman rirapuguay</u> 'Then he told the fool to go for firewood'
[sumáta] (3)	<u>... restata, SUMA-TA</u> ('addition' - obj.), <u>multiplicación divisionta qowaq kanku</u> '... they gave us subtraction, addition, multiplication and division'
[tąntúta] (83)	<u>Chay musicaman, bandaman pagaq kani TANTO-TA</u> ('so much' - obj.) 'I used to pay so much for the music and the band'
[tąntúta] (83)	<u>... curamanpas pagani TANTO-TA</u> ('so much' - obj.) '... I pay even the priest so much'

[t̥areáta] (56)	... TAREA-TA ('homework' - obj.) <u>askhata chayman-ta ch'isinpi ruwani</u> '... and then I do lots of homework in the evening'
[tardíta] (19)	<u>Chay qhepatataqmi las tres de la TARDE-TA</u> ('afternoon' - obj.) <u>procesión ... lloqsimun</u> 'After this at three in the afternoon the procession ... comes out'
[tardíta] (49)	<u>TARDE-TA</u> ('afternoon' - obj.) <u>lloqsiyku</u> 'In the evening we leave'
[tardíta] (49)	<u>Tutallamanta asnontin purispa TARDE-TA</u> ('late' - obj.) <u>kutiyanpuyku</u> 'Travelling at dawn with the donkey, we return late'
[t̥arditáña] (49)	... <u>TARDE-TA-ÑA</u> ('evening' - obj. - 'now') <u>kutiyan-puyku</u> '... and in the evening we return'
[teřenóta] (42)	... <u>kaypi TERRENO-TA</u> ('land' - obj.) <u>rantikuspa hamuni</u> '... having bought land, I came here'
[t̥estamentúta] (17)	<u>TESTAMENTO-TA</u> ('will' - obj.) <u>ruwakun kay mamitay</u> 'My mother made her will'
[t̥estamentúta] (17)	<u>TESTAMENTO-TA</u> ('will' - obj.) <u>ruwamusaq</u> 'I will make my will'
[t̥éta] (13)	... <u>las nueve pitagmi TE-TA</u> ('tea' - obj.) <u>tomanku</u> '... and at nine o'clock they drink tea'
[tetáqa] (20)	... <u>lo mismo TE-TA-QA</u> ('tea' - obj. - emph.) <u>llan-k'anku</u> '... and they also produce tea'
[t̥ortáta] (76)	... <u>mamay, TORTA-TA</u> ('cake' - obj.) <u>ruwarapuway</u> '... mother, make me a cake'
[tr̥agúta] (8)	... <u>TRAGO-TA-YÁ</u> ('drink' - obj. - 'then') <u>tomamuni</u> '... then I have a drink'
[tr̥agúta] (18)	... <u>aghata tomanku, TRAGO-TA</u> ('alcohol' - obj.) <u>tomanku</u> '... they drink maize beer and alcohol'
[tr̥agúta] (73)	... <u>TRAGO-TA</u> ('alcohol' - obj.) <u>tomanku askhata</u> '... they drink a lot of alcohol'
[tr̥agúta] (93)	... <u>sumagta aghata tomanankupaq, TRAGO-TA</u> ('alcohol' - obj.) <u>ujyanankupaq</u> '... in order to drink good maize beer and imbibe alcohol'
[tr̥agúta] (17)	... <u>chay fiestamentataq ichaga aghata tomanku, TRAGO-TA</u> ('spirits' - obj.) <u>tomanku</u> '... so they drink maize beer and spirits because of the fiesta'

- [trəgúta]
(72) Hinaspa warmi hap'in huj p'uyñupi TRAGO-TA ('alcohol' - obj.), gharitaq cocata 'And so the woman takes the alcohol in this jar, and the man the coca'
- [trəisj ónta]
(17) Miranda papaytaq TRAICIÓN-TA ('treachery' - obj.) ruwasqa 'My father Miranda was a traitor'
- [trigúta]
(17) ... TRIGO-TA ('wheat' - obj.) Paullumanta apamug kani '... I used to bring the wheat from Paullo'
- [trigúta]
(18) Chayqa tarpukun TRIGO-TA ('wheat' - obj.) 'And then the wheat is sown'
- [unáta]
(19) ... la UNA-TA ('one' - obj.) gallarin entrada '... at one o'clock the entrance starts'
- [wakáta]
(2) ... imaymanata ruwanku ... VACA-TA ('cow' - obj.), avionta, imaymana '... they make all sorts of things ... cows, planes, all sorts'
- [wakáta]
(15) Hinaspan chay negociopi rantin tawa chunkata VACA-TA ('cow' - obj.) 'So in this business he buys forty cows'
- [wakáta]
(18) ... VACA-TA ('cow' - obj.) iskayta wataspa chaymi sutin masa vaca '... the two bulls that are harnessed are called the "masa" bulls'
- [wakáta]
(23) ... huj runa gatin VACA-TA ('cow' - obj.) surco ruwananpaq '... this man follows the bulls to make the furrow'
- [wakáta]
(27) ... animalchakunata, VACA-TA ('cow' - obj.) ovejata ... apamunku '... they bring ... little animals, cows and sheep'
- [wakáta]
(83) ... VACA-TA ('cow' - obj.) rantispa nak'ani ovejakunata '... I sell cattle and sheep and slaughter them'
- [wakátáwan]
(18) Anchaymi VACA-TA-WAN ('cow' - obj. - 'with') hondota aradota kichan 'In this way, with oxen, he opens a deep furrow'
- [varáta]
(12) ... llaqta gon huj VARA-TA ('rod' - obj.) '... the village presents the mayor's rod'
- [verdíta]
(41) ... mana huj clase cocachu pisadaga ... coca VERDE-TA ('green' - obj.) '... this kind of coca ... green coca, is not trodden'
- [vermúta]
(57) Mamitayman askhata VERMOUT-TA ('vermouth' - obj.) ... hap'iyachinku 'They made my mother take ... a lot of vermouth'
- [vestiáúta]
(75) Bueno wawallay VESTIDO-TA ('clothes' - obj.) ruwarankichá 'Well, my child, perhaps you have made the clothes'

- [viđáta]
(64) ... chaypin ñoga kay VIDA-TA ('life' - obj.)
pasashani, señorita '... and so I am spending
my life here, miss'
- [yugúta]
(18) Chaywarmi hasta uman vacaq umanpi astanman
watana YUGO-TA ('yoke' - obj.) 'With this the
yoke has to be tied well on to the horns on the
head of the bull'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-taq/

/-taq/ connective, glossed 'so, and then' or may be best left untrans-
lated (see YL 40; JL 957; EM 132-134; GP 81; MY 65-66). S loans
found in conjunction with /-taq/ are free forms of the substantive,
conjunction and adverb classes.

S loans + /-taq/ + other Q suffixes

- [asnótəq]
(79) ASNO-TAQ ('donkey' - conn.) nisqa: ñoga puñusaq
corral ukhupi 'And the donkey said: I shall
sleep inside the enclosure'
- [sjertútəq]
(74) Ay CIERTO-TAQ ('certainly' - conn.), ninapara
chayamushasqa 'Oh it is certain that the
fiery rain was falling'
- [kòseçatəçə]
(67) ... chay COSECHA-TAQ-CHA ('harvest' - conn. -
dim.) riki qolqechakunga '... and this little
harvest really provides money'
- [kurátəq]
(2) CURA-TAQ ('priest' - conn.) ñaupaqta hamun sacri-
stan 'And in front of the priest comes the
sacristan'
- [fétəq]
(17) ... y todavía a ver qué talpaq mala FE-TAQ
(('faith' - conn.) mamay karan '... and look
how untrustworthy my mother was'
- [fjèštətəmi]
(60) ... chay FIESTA-TAQ-MI ('festival' - conn. - aff.)
sumaq popular sapa watarmi festejanku '...
they celebrate this very popular fiesta every
year'
- [əsjendətəmi]
(20) Chay HACIENDA-TAQ-MI ('farm' - conn. - aff.) karan
wiragocha Martín Pío Conchaq 'And this farm
used to belong to Martín Pío Concha'
- [màjstrótəq]
(33) MAESTRO-TAQ ('teacher' - conn.) kayku, chayqa
q'alata chaykunata ruwayku 'We are teachers,
so we have to do everything'

[màtrimonjútə]	... civil MATRIMONIO-TAQ ('wedding' - conn.)
(14)	consejopi señor alcalde casarachin '... the mayor marries them in a civil ceremony in the town hall'
[misatəmi]	... y cargo MISA-TAQ-MI ('mass' - conn. - aff.)
(19)	las diez de la mañanata '... and the office of mass is at ten o'clock in the morning'
[nitə]	... manan cobraykuchu ni mediotapas NI-TAQ
(68)	('nor' - conn.) ñogaykupagga imatapas ruwanchu yanqallanqa '... we don't even charge him fifty cents, nor does he ever do anything for us for nothing'
[otə]	... O-TAQ ('or' - conn.) gorita ... tarinkupuni
(50)	'... or they really find ... gold'
[pàdrinútə]	Hatun padrino warmi qari, aras PADRINO-TAQ
(14)	('sponsor' - conn.) ch'ullalla qari 'The main sponsors are a man and a woman, and the altar sponsor is just one man'
[primértə]	PRIMER-TAQ ('first' - conn.) ñaupagpi kashan
(35)	ñanpapatapi 'And the first one went ahead on the road'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + TRANSITIONAL SUFFIXES

/-su/, /-wa/, /-yki/ indicate respectively that the addressee is the object of 3rd p. s. or pl. action; that the speaker is the object of 2nd or 3rd p. s. or pl. action; that the addressee is the object of 1st p. s. action (see YL 25-26; EM 101-107; GP 27-28; MY 50-51, 52).

S loans + transitional suffix + other Q suffix(es)

[atjèndiwaráŋku]	... pero paypas ocupasga karan mana nisiutachu
(3)	ñogaykuta ATIENDE-WA-RA-NKU ('attend' - trans. - past - 3rd pl.) '... but she was busy too and they didn't attend to many of us'
[atjèndiwaŋku]	Kunan actual allin kashayku ñogaykupas gobiernopas allinta ATIENDE-WA-SHA-NKU ('attend' - trans. - contin. - 3rd pl.)
(40)	'Now at the moment we are fine, and the government is dealing well with us'
[kàlifikáwan]	... chaymanta maestroy CALIFICA-WA-N ('mark' - trans. - 3rd s.)
(56)	'... then my teacher marks it for me'

- [kəstigaʃəʃunkicɪsmaŋ] ... Virgen Natividadcha CASTIGA-SU-NKICHIS-MAN
(22) ('punish' - trans. - 2nd pl. - cond.) '... perhaps the Virgin of the Nativity might punish you'
- [kəntestəʃawaŋ] Arí, jurani, nispa CONTESTA-WA-N ('answer' -
(89) trans. - 3rd s.) 'Yes, I swear, he says, answering me'
- [dəklarəʃawəŋki] Chayqa sutinllawan DECLARA-WA-NKI ('declare' -
(89) trans. - 2nd s.) willawanki imaynan kargan kay
'And then you will tell me all the truth, you will tell me how it all happened'
- [ədukaʃawəʃta] ... chayqa ñoqañataq nini songoypi: manataq
(11) munawanchu EDUCA-WA-Y-TA ('educate' - trans. -
infin. - obj.) '... and then I said in my heart: she doesn't want me to be educated either'
- [əntendiʃawəŋkiña] ... chayña ENTENDE-WA-NKI-ÑA ('understand' -
(66) trans. - 2nd s. - 'now'), riki? 'you understand me now, don't you?'
- [əntendiʃawəŋkúçu] ... mana ENTENDE-WA-NKU-CHU ('understand' -
(66) trans. - 3rd pl. - neg.) castellanota '... they do not understand my Spanish'
- [əntjendiʃawəʃtinkútaʃ] Quechuapi mana ENTIENDE-WA-QTI-NKU-TAQ ('under-
(66) stand' - trans. - conj. - 3rd pl. - conn.) castella-
nopi rimallaykutaq, q'ala 'And when they don't understand my Quechua we just speak in Spanish, everything'
- [əskapaʃawəŋkiçu] Bueno, a ver, ñaupay, pero ama ESCAPA-WA-NKI-CHU
(71) ('escape' - trans. - 2nd s. - neg.) 'Well, let's see, you go ahead, but don't escape from me'
- [əskapaʃawəŋmanñăçu] Imaynapas kachun manan ESCAPA-WA-N-MAN-ÑA-CHU
(71) ('escape' - trans. - 3rd s. - cond. - 'now' - neg.)
'Whatever it is, it won't escape from me'
- [gəʃtəʃawəŋmi] ... GUSTA-WA-N-MI ('like' - trans. - 3rd s. - aff.)
(13) ñoqaman tipiyqa '... I like husking maize'
- [pəʃəʃəʃunki] ... vidayki PAGA-SU-NKI ('pay' - trans. - 2nd s.)
(77) '... he will pay for your life'
- [sufriʃawəŋkimăŋçu] Hija, hakuchis, mana kaypiqa SUFRI-WA-NKI-MAN-
(11) -CHU ('suffer' - trans. - 2nd s. - cond. - neg.)
'Let us go, daughter, you can't suffer any more here' (or possibly: 'you can't make me suffer here')
- [vendəʃawəʃ] Después ... wallpata VENDE-WA-Y ('sell' - trans.
(91) - imper.) nini 'Then ... I said: sell the chicken to me'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-wan/

/-wan/ prepositional, glossed 'with, by means of, together with' (see YL 29; JL 1093; EM 56-57; GP 41-42; MY 61). S loans found in conjunction with /-wan/ are free forms of the substantive and adjective classes.

S loans + /-wan/ ± other Q suffix(es)

- [àbonówan]
(38) ... y kunan churasunchis ABONO-WAN ('dung' - 'with') fertilizantewan '... and now we cover them with dung and fertilizers'
- [àgrarjawan]
(68) ... hinaspa chaymanta Reforma AGRARIA-WAN ('Agrarian' - 'with') pierdepun runakuna '... but now, with the Agrarian Reform, the people are losing'
- [àrađúwan]
(23) ... ARADO-WAN ('plough' - 'with') rejata watayuspa '... tying the blade cuts the plough'
- [àrkowantâqmi]
(60) ... y kunan chay cuestión ARCO-WAN-TAQ-MI ('arch' - 'with' - conn. - aff.), arco cuestionmantaq, mana sumaqtachu kunan ruwapunku '... and now with this question of the arches, with the arch business, they aren't making them nicely now'
- [baláwan]
(46) Chaypi hinaspa BALA-WAN ('bullet' - 'with') wañu-chiyku 'Well then we killed it there with a bullet'
- [kàbałúwan]
(18) ... CABALLO-WAN ('horse' - 'with') saruchinku, askha caballokunawan '... they have it trodden out with a horse, with lots of horses'
- [kàriñúwan]
(40) ... CARIÑO-WAN ('affection' - 'with') voluntadwan ... llapankutapas '... with good will and kindness towards all'
- [kàstełanówan]
(45) ... chayqa manan runasimi purotachu ñoga rimayman sino CASTELLANO-WAN ('Spanish' - 'with') tinkuchispa '.... so I may not speak pure Quechua, miss, but mixed with Spanish'
- [kàstełanówan]
(66) Rimaytaqa allinta yachani aunque wakin palabrakunaga as mich'usqa CASTELLANO-WAN ('Spanish' - 'with') 'I know how to speak well, though some words are a little mixed with Spanish'
- [çikáwan]
(3) Así es que quinto año CHICA-WAN ('girl' - 'with') cuidachiwaq kanku 'So they were in the care of a fifth-year girl'

- [kòndenadúwan]
(78) CONDENADO-WAN ('criminal' - 'with') hap'inaykusqa ukukuqa 'The bear was fighting with the criminal'
- [kòstumbriwan]
(30) Chaymi Calcapiga admirasqa lliupas kayku kay hatun sumaq COSTUMBRE-WAN ('custom' - 'with') 'We are admired here in Calca for this great, beautiful custom'
- [kùçilúwan]
(24) Chay razonpi CUCHILLO-WAN ('knife' - 'with') defendekusqa 'For this reason he defended himself with a knife'
- [djegówan]
(71) Pascual DIEGO-WAN ('Diego' - 'with') escapapakusgaku, pasapusgaku 'Pascual and Diego escaped and went away'
- [fèřtilisantíwan]
(38) ... y kunan churasunchis abonowan, FERTILIZANTE-WAN ('fertilizer' - 'with') '... and now we cover them with dung and fertilizers'
- [fjerúwan]
(72) ... huj FIERRO-WAN ('iron' - 'with') allin puku FIERRO-WAN marcayta gallarinku '... with the iron, with a red-hot iron they begin the marking'
- [gaľówan]
(79) Hinaspa huj llaqtaman chayaspanku huj GALLO-WAN ('cock' - 'with') tupasganku 'So they arrived in this village and met this cock'
- [gòbjernúwan]
(92) ... lliu comunidatkuna allinta GOBIERNO-WAN ('government' - 'with') uyarichikunankupaq '... so that many communities may have the ear of the government'
- [ačáwan]
(79) Huj wiragochataqmi clavokunawan takamuwan HACHA-WAN ('axe' - 'with') chakiypi 'This man nailed down my foot with an axe'
- [lašúwan]
(18) Chaymanmi rejata watakun ... fierro-ta LASO-WAN ('rope' - 'with'), chaymi sutin arado watasqa 'In this way the blade is tied ... to a metal stake with a rope, this is called tying the plough'
- [lašúwan]
(35) Hinaspa chay qaqakunata qatiyamusgaku vence-vencepi LASO-WAN ('rope' - 'with') soq'ashaspalla 'They herded the stones in the "gana-gana" game, beating them with a rope'
- [limpjówan]
(95) ... chaymanta p'achayta cambiakuni LIMPIO-WAN ('clean' - 'with') '... and then I change into clean clothes'
- [mòtivówan]
(59) ... pero kunan wataqa plazaq allichakusqa MOTIVO-WAN ('cause' - 'with') mana kapuñachu kay '... but this year because of the mending of the plaza, there is none of this'
- [mòtivówan]
(88) ... chay MOTIVO-WAN ('cause' - 'with') kallpa-manayrayku kutinpurani Qosqoman Callaomanta '... and so because of this, because of my weakness, I returned to Cuzco from Callao'

[mòvinjentúwan]
(60)

... chay MOVIMIENTO-WAN ('traffic' - 'with') mana chay situación mana apamunkuchu ni aswan allin musicata, bandata '... with this traffic, in this situation, they don't provide either good music or a band'

[mùnispálwan]
(59)

Bueno faenapag ñoga habilitachimuni agente MUNICIPAL-WAN ('municipal' - 'with') sapa semana soqta runata 'Well, together with the town agent, I supply six men for the communal work every week'

[pàdrinúwan]
(16)

Chayqa chaymanta PADRINO-WAN ('sponsor' - 'with') haykunku señor curagta 'Then from there they come with the sponsor to the priest's'

[paláwan]
(46)

Chaypi manchasqa llank'amuyku maquinakunawan, PALA-WAN ('pole' - 'with') 'We worked nervously with the machines and spades'

[patróñwan]
(68)

... manaña imapas PATRON-WAN ('boss' - 'with') ruwanakichis kunanga kanchu nipa chayqa '... so they say: now you mustn't do work with the boss'

[pèlotáwan]
(10)

... ñogayku chaypi PELOTA-WAN ('ball' - 'with') pujllayku, futbolpi, voleipi '... we played football and volley there with a ball'

[pitúwan]
(72)

... chaypi ruwanku fiestata, PITO-WAN ('pipe' - 'with'), tamborwan '... here they celebrate with a pipe and drum'

[pròduksjónwan]
(86)

Chaytataq productokuna arroz PRODUCCION-WAN ('production' - 'with') kutichinku 'So production always corresponds to rice production'

[řegálòwanpúni]
(16)

Chayqa padrinopas madrinapas siempre REGALO-WAN-PUNI ('gift' - 'with' - def.) 'Then both the male and female sponsors always (come) with a present'

[sonsówan]
(76)

Hinaspa huj SONSO-WAN ('fool' - 'with') tupasqa 'And then he met this fool'

[sùfrimentówan]
(44)

... lliu cosaskunata yacharani SUFRIMIENTO-WAN ('suffering' - 'with') llank'ayta gallarinku 'With what their parents have given them, they can begin to work with no hardship'

[tamborřwan]
(72)

... chaypi ruwanku fiestata, pitowan, TAMBOR-WAN ('drum' - 'with') '... here they celebrate with a pipe and drum'

[tràbaxúwan]
(17)

Nanag TRABAJO-WAN ('work' - 'with') uywanmi kay wawata 'She raised this child by dint of painful work'

[tragówan]
(72)

Hinaspa parejantin haykunku vacaq kasqankuman t'inkaq TRAGO-WAN ('alcohol' - 'with') cocawan 'Then the couples enter where the cattle is, to sprinkle it with alcohol and coca'

- [wakáwəŋ]
(18) Ñogayku chayrata llank'ayku señoṛita runakunawan VACA-WAN ('cattle' - 'with') 'We work in the fields, miss, with men and oxen'
- [wakáwəŋ]
(25) Huj runa VACA-WAN ('cow' - 'with') purisqa 'This man went out with his cow'
- [wakáwəŋ]
(23) ... chay qhepanta huj tapamun huj masa VACA-WAN ('ox' - 'with') '... this is covered over behind by the ploughing ox'
- [voluntáwəŋ]
(40) ... cariñowan, VOLUNTAD-WAN ('good will' - 'with') ... llapankutapas '... with good will and kindness ... towards all'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-y/

1. 1st s. poss. May also be used to express the vocative, e.g. señoray! señoṛa! (see YL 23, 25; JL 1167; EM 79-80; GP 26; MY 56-57). S loans found in conjunction with /-y/ possessive are free forms of the substantive class.

S loans + /-y/ ± other Q suffix(es)

- [əbwélaɪ]
(75) ... paɣarinmi fiestayki ABUELA-Y ('grandmother' - 1st s. poss.) ... huj pavota ... mercadoman aparusaq nispa nin '... grandmother, tomorrow is your birthday ... and I will take a turkey ... to market, he said'
- [əwlaɪpa]
(17) ... wasita venderan, chay ABUELA-Y-PA ('grandmother' - 1st s. poss. - poss.) wasinta '... she sold the house, my grandmother's house'
- [amigaɪ]
(3) ... porque AMIGA-Y ('friend' - 1st s. poss.) karan 730 escuelapi '... because my friend was at school number 730'
- [amigaɪkunəwəŋ]
(57) AMIGA-Y-KUNA-WAN ('friend' - 1st s. poss. - pl. - 'with') chistekunata ima rimaspayku, asikuyku 'My friends and I are always talking and laughing at jokes'
- [amigaɪkunəwəŋ]
(57) Escuelaypi puɟillayku AMIGA-Y-KUNA-WAN ('friend' - 1st s. poss. - pl. - 'with') 'In my school we play with my friends'
- [amigoɪ]
(91) Urco haciendata gringo Billman risaq watukuq porque AMIGO-Y ('friend' - 1st s. poss.) kaq 'I shall go to the Urco farm to ask about the foreigner Bill, because he is my friend'

[amigoikúna] (32)	Kaypi AMIGO-Y-KUNA ('friend' - 1st s. poss. - pl.) 'Here are my friends'
[sèřtifikađoi] (62)	... CERTIFICADO-Y ('certificate' - 1st s. poss.) horgoq unaymanta kutinpuni '... I came after a long time to take out my certificate'
[kolèxyoimanta] (6)	COLEGIO-Y-MANTA ('school' - 1st s. poss. - 'from') ñoga lloqsini chunka iskayniyoq 'I come out of my school at two o'clock'
[kòlexyóipi] (6)	COLEGIO-Y-PI ('school' - 1st s. poss. - loc.) ñoga yachani lliu profesorniykuna niwasqankuta 'In my school I learn all that the teachers say'
[kòlexyóipi] (6)	COLEGIO-Y-PI ('school' - 1st s. poss. - loc.) tar- deskunapi ñoga kani kimsa horasta 'I am at school for three hours in the afternoons'
[kòmpañeraykúna] (84)	Escuelaymanta rirani ... llipin COMPAÑERA-Y-KUNA (('companion' - 1st s. poss. - pl.), profesorakuna inti lloqsimusqanta ... reqsiq 'I went from school ... and many of my friends and teachers, to see ... the sunrise'
[kòmpañeraykunata] (10)	Wakin COMPAÑERA-Y-KUNA-TAQ ('companion' - 1st s. poss. - pl. - conn.) mal churakapun, chaykunataraq atiendeyku 'Many of my friends were ill, and we looked after them'
[kòrèspòndensjaita] (89)	... entonces guardia ... CORRESPONDENCIA-Y-TA (('correspondence' - 1st s. poss. - obj.) apamun '... then the guard ... brings my letters'
[koséçaj] (81)	Chay kimsa killapi COSECHA-Y ('harvest' - 1st s. poss.) 'I (get) my harvest in three months'
[èskwelaimanta] (84)	ESCUELA-Y-MANTA ('school' - 1st s. poss. - 'from') rirani ... llipin compañeraykuna profesorakuna inti lloqsimusqanta ... reqsiq 'I went from school ... and many of my friends and teachers, to see ... the sunrise'
[èskweláipi] (57)	ESCUELA-Y-PI ('school' - 1st s. poss. - loc.) pujllayku amigaykunawan 'In my school we play with my friends'
[èskweláipi] (57)	ESCUELA-Y-PI ('school' - 1st s. poss. - loc.) ... rimayku imakunatapas cuentokunata ima willa- nakuyku 'In school ... we talk about every- thing, we tell all kinds of stories'
[èskwelaita] (23)	... ESCUELA-Y-TA ('school' - 1st s. poss. - obj.) chaypi tukurani '... I have done my schooling here'
[fàmiljaíwan] (62)	Chaymanta FAMILIA-Y-WAN ('family' - 1st s. poss. - 'with') mana avenikapunichu 'And so I did not get on with my family'
[fjéstai] (75)	... paqarintaq FIESTA-Y ('party' - 1st s. poss.) chayqa mikhuyusunchis t'antata '.... tomorrow'

- [àsjeṇḍai]
(68) Ajchawata HACIENDA-Y ('farm' - 1st s. poss.)
anchaypi papallata llank'ayku lliu 'On my
farm in Ajchawata we deal mainly in potatoes'
- [àsjeṇḍáimi]
(7) HACIENDA-Y-MI ('farm' - 1st s. poss. - aff.) pata
Quispiqanchismi patanpi kakushan 'My farm is
in the heights of Quispiqanchis'
- [maḍrini]
(85) ... mana hinaga mana mikhuchiwaqchu MADRINA-Y
('godmother' - 1st s. poss.) '... when it
wasn't like this my godmother didn't give me
anything to eat'
- [maḍrináiqua]
(11) Chayqa MADRINA-Y-QA ('godmother' - 1st s. poss.
- emph.) hamusga haqaymanta 'Then my godmother
came from over there'
- [maḍrináiqua]
(11) Chaymantaga MADRINA-Y-QA ('godmother' - 1st s.
poss. - emph.) maltrato qowaran 'Then my god-
mother ill-treated me'
- [maḱstraḱpas]
(57) MAESTRA-Y-PAS ('teacher' - 1st s. poss. - 'even')
buenachallaña, yachachiwanku cuentokunata
'Even my teacher is very good, and they teach me
stories'
- [maḱstrói]
(56) ... chaymanta MAESTRO-Y ('teacher' - 1st s. poss.)
calificawan '... then my teacher marks it
for me'
- [maṁái]
(17) ... y todavía a ver que talpaq mala fetaq MAMA-Y
('mother' - 1st s. poss.) karan '... and look
how untrustworthy my mother was'
- [maṁái]
(76) ... MAMA-Y ('mother' - 1st s. poss.), tortata
ruwarapuway '... mother, make me a cake'
- [maṁáita]
(82) Imanaqtintaq khaynanaraqta llakiri ñit'iwan
MAMA-Y-TA ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - obj.) pusapun
volcadapi sufrispa? 'Why does sorrow follow
me so, my mother suffering when she was taken
away in an accident?'
- [maṁaitápas]
(7) ... papayta yanapani, MAMA-Y-TA-PAS ('mother' -
1st s. poss. - obj. - 'even') '... I help my
father, and even my mother'
- [maṁitái]
(11) ... chayqa MAMITA-Y ('mother' - 1st s. poss.)
niwan: mana educaykimanchu '... then my
mother said to me: I won't educate you'
- [maṁitái]
(15) Papay MAMITA-Y ('mother' - 1st s. poss.) kay
Calcamanta kanku 'My father and mother are
from this village of Calca'
- [maṁitái]
(17) Testamentota ruwakun kay MAMITA-Y ('mother' - 1st
s. - poss.) 'My mother made her will'
- [maṁitái]
(17) Noga Miranda kani, primerta wachakuwasqa Miran-
daqta MAMITA-Y ('mother' - 1st s. poss.) 'I am
a Miranda, my mother bore me first to Miranda'

- [māmitái] (56) Papa yanapawan, a vecesqa MAMITA-Y ('mother' - 1st s. poss.) 'My father helps me, and sometimes my mother'
- [māmitái] (57) ... MAMITA-Y ('mother' - 1st s. poss.) wagayun waqayku ñogaykupas '... my mother cried, and even we cried'
- [māmitái] (82) Tawa p'unchay setiembrepi MAMITA-Y ('mother' - 1st s. poss.) ... carro volcaqtin viajashaspa 'On the 4th of September my mother ... the car in which she was travelling turned over'
- [māmítáiman] (17) ... masaq kani, t'antata vendekuspa MAMITA-Y-MAN ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - prop.) '... I used to make bread, selling bread to my mother'
- [māmítáiman] (57) MAMITA-Y-MAN ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - prop.) askhata vermoutta cervezata ... hap'iyachinku 'They made my mother take ... a lot of vermouth and beer'
- [māmítáipas] (11) ... MAMITA-Y-PAS ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - 'even') hamuran waqaspa '... even my mother came weeping'
- [māmítáita] (11) ... allin frutakunawan gozaspa kashani, nispa nirani MAMITA-Y-TA ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - obj.) '... I am well and enjoying myself with the fruit, I said to my mother'
- [māmítáita] (42) ... wawaykunata servispalla kashani MAMITA-Y-TA ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - obj.) ima servispalla kaypi '... I am just looking after my children, I'm just looking after my mother here'
- [māmítáita] (57) MAMITA-Y-TA ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - obj.) yanapani imaymana ruwasqanta 'I help my mother do everything'
- [māmítáitae] (17) ... MAMITA-Y-TAQ ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - conn.) pasasqa wawata watayogta abuelachayman saqeykuspa '... so my mother went, leaving the one-year-old child with my grandmother'
- [māmítáitae] (82) ... MAMITA-Y-TAQ ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - conn.) wañuran tawa chunka soqtayog watayog '... my mother died at forty-six years of age'
- [māmítáiwaj] (44) ... lliutan MAMITA-Y-WAN ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - 'with') yanapani, hinan viday '... I help my mother a lot, that's my life'
- [māmítáiwaj] (56) MAMITA-Y-WAN ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - 'with') ima papaywan lliu riyku 'We always go with my mother or with my father'
- [māmítáiwaj] (57) ... MAMITA-Y-WAN ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - 'with') tiyani '... I live with my mother'
- [notisjáigə] (42) ... chayllan NOTICIA-Y-QA ('news' - 1st s. poss. - emph.) willakunaypaq kashan '... these are

- [məmitáɪ]
(56) Papa yanapawan, a vecesqa MAMITA-Y ('mother' - 1st s. poss.) 'My father helps me, and sometimes my mother'
- [məmitáɪ]
(57) ... MAMITA-Y ('mother' - 1st s. poss.) wagayun wagayku ñogaykupas '... my mother cried, and even we cried'
- [məmitáɪ]
(82) Tawa p'unchay setiembrepi MAMITA-Y ('mother' - 1st s. poss.) ... carro volcaqtin viajashaspa 'On the 4th of September my mother ... the car in which she was travelling turned over'
- [məmitáɪman]
(17) ... masaq kani, t'antata vendekuspa MAMITA-Y-MAN ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - prop.) '... I used to make bread, selling bread to my mother'
- [məmitáɪman]
(57) MAMITA-Y-MAN ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - prop.) askhata vermoutta cervezata ... hap'iyachinku 'They made my mother take ... a lot of vermouth and beer'
- [məmitáɪpas]
(11) ... MAMITA-Y-PAS ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - 'even') hamuran wagaspa '... even my mother came weeping'
- [məmitáɪta]
(11) ... allin frutakunawan gozaspa kashani, nispa nirani MAMITA-Y-TA ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - obj.) '... I am well and enjoying myself with the fruit, I said to my mother'
- [məmitáɪta]
(42) ... wawaykunata servispalla kashani MAMITA-Y-TA ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - obj.) ima servispalla kaypi '... I am just looking after my children, I'm just looking after my mother here'
- [məmitáɪta]
(57) MAMITA-Y-TA ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - obj.) yanapani imaymana ruwasqanta 'I help my mother do everything'
- [məmitáɪtaɐ]
(17) ... MAMITA-Y-TAQ ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - conn.) pasasqa wawata watayogta abuelachayman saqeykuspa '... so my mother went, leaving the one-year-old child with my grandmother'
- [məmitáɪtaɐ]
(82) ... MAMITA-Y-TAQ ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - conn.) wañuran tawa chunka soqtayog watayog '... my mother died at forty-six years of age'
- [məmitáɪwan]
(44) ... lliutan MAMITA-Y-WAN ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - 'with') yanapani, hinan viday '... I help my mother a lot, that's my life'
- [məmitáɪwan]
(56) MAMITA-Y-WAN ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - 'with') ima papaywan lliu riyku 'We always go with my mother or with my father'
- [məmitáɪwan]
(57) ... MAMITA-Y-WAN ('mother' - 1st s. poss. - 'with') tiyani '... I live with my mother'
- [notisjáɪqa]
(42) ... chayllan NOTICIA-Y-QA ('news' - 1st s. poss. - emph.) willakunaypaq kashan '... these are

- all the things I can tell you'
- [òfisjoíta]
(89) Entonces guardia ñoqaq OFICIO-Y-TA ('document' - 1st s. poss. - obj.) ... apamun 'Then the guard brings me ... my document'
- [pàdrináipas]
(11) Chayqa PADRINO-Y-PAS ('godfather' - 1st s. poss. - 'even') niwan: ankaypi allin kanki 'Then my godfather said to me: you will be well here'
- [papái]
(15) PAPA-Y ('father' - 1st s. poss.) mamitay kay Calcamanta kanku 'My father and mother are from this village of Calca'
- [papái]
(57) PAPA-Y ('father' - 1st s. poss.) wañupun kay carreterapi llank'aspa 'My father died while working on this road'
- [papái]
(57) Chaypi ... PAPA-Y ('father' - 1st s. poss.) wañupun kay carreterapi llank'aspa 'My father died while working on this road'
- [papái]
(57) Chaypi ... PAPA-Y ('father' - 1st s. poss.) hui hatun cuartopi velakun 'Here ... in this big room my father had vigil kept over him'
- [pàpajkúna]
(43) ... PAPA-Y-KUNA ('parent' - 1st s. poss. - pl.) rimaranku quechuatawan, castellanotawan '... my parents spoke in Quechua and Spanish'
- [papáita]
(7) ... PAPA-Y-TA ('father' - 1st s. poss. - obj.) yanapani, mamaytapas '... I help my father, and even my mother'
- [papáitae]
(17) Miranda PAPA-Y-TAQ ('father' - 1st s. poss. - conn.) traicionta ruwasqa 'My father Miranda was a traitor'
- [papáitae]
(17) ... Miranda PAPA-Y-TAQ ('father' - 1st s. poss. - conn.) bastanteta protegesqa '... Miranda, my father, protected (us) very well'
- [papáitae]
(82) ... PAPA-Y-TAQ ('father' - 1st s. poss. - conn.) machayman gokuran '... and my father gave himself to drunkenness'
- [pàpaitáqa]
(57) Mana familaykuchu PAPA-Y-TA-QA ('father' - 1st s. poss. - obj. - emph.) aparan, soldadokunallan 'Our family did not bring my father, just his soldiers'
- [papáiwaj]
(56) Mamitaywan ima PAPA-Y-WAN ('father' - 1st s. poss. - 'with') lliu riyku 'We always go with my mother or with my father'
- [papáiwaj]
(56) PAPA-Y-WAN ('father' - 1st s. poss. - 'with') riyku bendicionta mañayakamuyku mamachaman 'We go with my father and we ask for the Virgin's blessing'
- [papáiwaj]
(62) ... PAPA-Y-WAN ('father' - 1st s. poss. - 'with') pusawaranku Ayaviri wichayman '... with my father they took me to the heights of Ayaviri'

[pròblémaḱ]	<u>Mayormentega manan ñoqaga PROBLEMA-Y</u> ('problem' - 1st s. poss.) <u>kanchu porque rimani runasimita</u>
(52)	'On the whole this is not my problem, because I speak Quechua'
[señorái]	<u>SEÑORA-Y</u> ('lady' - 1st s. poss.) <u>apurasqa kashani</u>
(74)	'I am in a hurry, señora'
[señorái]	<u>SEÑORA-Y</u> ('lady' - 1st s. poss.), <u>pasarukushayki</u>
(74)	Señora, I am passing you'
[señoráipas]	<u>Kaypiqa huj wawaykunapas mana llakikunchis</u>
(61)	<u>SEÑORA-Y-PAS</u> ('wife' - 1st s. poss. - 'and') 'Here we were not sad, neither my children nor my wife'
[sweldoimanta]	<u>... sapa killa SUELDO-Y-MANTA</u> ('wage' - 1st s. poss. - 'from') <u>wakinta sagespa</u>
(48)	'... leaving the rest of my wages every month'
[tíai]	<u>Tioy, TIA-Y</u> ('aunt' - 1st s. poss.), <u>compadrenchismi wañurapusqa</u>
(77)	'Uncle, aunt, our godfather has died'
[tíai]	<u>TIA-Y</u> ('aunt' - 1st s. poss.) <u>amaña porfiakuychu!</u>
(77)	'Auntie, don't insist'
[tíoi]	<u>TIO-Y</u> ('uncle' - 1st s. poss.), <u>tiay, compadrenchismi wañurapusqa</u>
(77)	'Uncle, aunt, our godfather has died'
[viandaikunata]	<u>... VIANDA-Y-KUNA-TA</u> ('food' - 1st s. poss. - pl. - obj.) <u>horgospataq intiq kayllapi mikhuyku</u>
(10)	'... taking out our food, we ate it in the sunshine'
[víai]	<u>... hinan VIDA-Y</u> ('life' - 1st s. poss.)
(44)	that's my life'
[víai]	<u>Bueno chayllan chay ñoqag VIDA-Y</u> ('life' - 1st s. poss.)
(46)	'Well, there's my life'
[viáita]	<u>Mana yachankichu VIDA-Y-TA</u> ('life' - 1st s. poss. - neg.) <u>amigo, nispa nin michi</u>
(79)	'You don't know about my life, my friend, said the cat'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-y/

2. /-y/ infinitive. Forms the infinitive of any verb stem (see YL 43; JL 1167; EM 92-93; GP 54; MY 54). The infinitive form may be inflected like any substantive. S loans found in conjunction with /-y/ infinitive are bound forms of the verb stem class.

S loans + /-y/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[əgwəntáita] (46)	... calorta mana AGUANTA-Y-TA ('bear' - infin. - obj.) <u>atispa, bañakuyku unupi</u> '... unable to bear the heat, we bathed in the water'
[senáita] (46)	... tukuyku CENA-Y-TA ('dine' - infin. - obj.) <u>camaykuman alojamientoykuman haykupuyku</u> '... when we finish having supper we go to our beds and our lodgings'
[kontestáita] (24)	Porque mana pay CONTESTA-Y-TA ('answer' - infin. - obj.) <u>atisqachu maganakuspa</u> 'Because he could not reply by fighting'
[edukáita] (82)	... sullk'achakunata apenas tercer año primaria-kamalla EDUCA-Y-TA ('educate' - infin. - obj.) <u>atirani</u> '... I barely managed to educate the youngest as far as the third year of primary'
[əngañailáwaŋ] (47)	... huj pobreta rikuspaga ENGAÑA-Y-LLA-WAN ('deceive' - infin. - lim. - 'with') <u>rinku</u> '... when they see a poor man they deceive him'
[èskribíta] (66)	Lo único mana atinichu ESCRIBI-Y-TA ('write' - infin. - obj.) <u>ancha allintachu</u> 'The only thing is that I can't write very well'
[èskribíta] (66)	Wakin palabrakunataga ESCRIBI-Y-TA ('write' - infin. - obj.) <u>yachanitaqmi</u> 'And so I know how to write some words'
[ganáita] (66)	... qolqeta GANA-Y-TA ('earn' - infin. - obj.) <u>yachasharanitaq</u> '... and I was learning how to earn money'
[markáita] (72)	... huj fierrowan ... MARCA-Y-TA ('mark' - infin. - obj.) <u>pagargani</u> '... and I paid out this payment'
[parláita] (58)	... llipin compañeraskuna mana atishan PARLA-Y-TA ('speak' - infin. - obj.) <u>quechuata</u> '... many of my companions cannot speak Quechua'
[reñípaq] (61)	... huj llakisqa hamuni REÑI-Y-PAQ ('quarrel' - infin. - purp.) <u>colerasqa hamuni Calcatan</u> '... I came here sad and rebellious, I came angrily to Calca'
[rèsaipíraq] (30)	... uraykamun ... takiypíraq, REZA-Y-PI-RAQ ('pray' - infin. - loc. - 'still') <u>unanchaypiraq</u> '... they come down ... still singing and praying and crossing themselves'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-ya/

1. /-ya/ honorific or intensifier. Generally best left untranslated. /-ya/ is in free variation with /-yka/ which is the alternative form with /-yku/ before /-ku/, /-ri/, /-chi/, /-pu/ and /-mu/ (see p. 281) (see YL 30; EM 179; GP 67; MY 49). S loans found in conjunction with /-ya/ are bound forms of the verb stem class.

S loans + /-ya/ ± other Q suffixes

[akònsexàyamwíki] (27)	Chaymantata ... ACONSEJA-YA-MU-YKI ('advise' - 'polite' - cisloc. - trans. - 1st s. pres.) <u>plaza-man rinaykita</u> 'So ... I advise you to go to village square'
[tòmayaâispáña] (16)	Chayta mikhuyachispa TOMA-YA-CHI-SPA-ÑA ('drink' - 'polite' - caus. - simul. - 'now') <u>valekuna padrinomanta servikunanpaq</u> 'Only when they have made them eat and drink these things do they request them to be sponsors'

SPANISH LOAN FORM + /-ya/

2. /-ya/ regret or resignation, always found in accented final position (see JL 1168; GP 84-85). The S loans found in conjunction with /-ya/ is a free form of the interjection class.

S loan + /-ya/

[òxalayá] (85)	Chay OJALA-YÁ ('would that' - 'well') <u>chaymanpas chay desayunollatapas aparimankuman</u> 'So I hope they may bring me at least my breakfast'
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SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-yki/

/-yki/ 2nd s poss. (see YL 23, 25; EM 79-80; GP 26; MY 56-57).

S loans found in conjunction with /-yki/ possessive are free forms of the substantive class.

S loans + /-yki/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[kolèxyoikimánta] (6)	<u>Ima horasta lloqsinki COLEGIO-YKI-MANTA</u> (<u>'school' - 2nd s. poss. - 'from'</u>)? <u>'What time do you come out of your school?'</u>
[kolèxyoikípi] (6)	<u>COLEGIO-YKI-PI</u> (<u>'school' - 2nd s. poss. - loc.</u>) <u>pujllankichu?</u> <u>'Do you play games in your school?'</u>
[fjesháiki] (75)	<u>... pagarinmi FIESTA-YKI</u> (<u>'party' - 2nd s. poss.</u>) <u>... huj pavota ... mercadoman aparusaq</u> <u>'... tomorrow is your birthday and ... I will take a turkey ... to market'</u>
[àsjendáiki] (7)	<u>Maypin HACIENDA-YKI</u> (<u>'farm' - 2nd s. poss.</u>)? <u>'Where is your farm?'</u>
[maðrìnáikiwaj] (11)	<u>Hagaypiqa MADRINA-YKI-WAN</u> (<u>'godmother' - 2nd s. poss. - 'with'</u>) <u>allin kakunki</u> <u>'You will be fine over there with your godmother'</u>
[tràbaxoikípaq] (27)	<u>Chay allin kay TRABAJO-YKI-PAQ</u> (<u>'work' - 2nd s. poss. - purp.</u>) <u>'That is good for your study'</u>
[viðáiki] (77)	<u>... VIDA-YKI</u> (<u>'life' - 2nd s. poss.</u>) <u>pagasunki</u> <u>'... he will pay for your life'</u>

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-yku/

1. /-yku/ 1st pl. excl. poss. (see YL 24-25; EM 79-80; GP 26; MY 56-57). S loans found in conjunction with /-yku/ possessive are free forms of the substantive class.

S loans + /-yku/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[àbwelóiku] (96)	<u>... ñogayku imaymana taytayku ABUELO-YKU</u> (<u>'grandfather' - 1st pl. excl. poss.</u>) <u>ruwan Inti Raymipi</u> <u>'... we and our parents and grandparents do many things at the Inti Raymi'</u>
[alòxamjèntoikúman] ()	<u>... tukuyku cenayta canaykuman, ALOJAMIENTO-</u> <u>-YKU-MAN</u> (<u>'lodging' - 1st pl. excl. poss. - prop.</u>) <u>haykupuyku</u> <u>'... when we had finished having supper we went to our beds and our lodgings'</u>
[àpoyuíku] (33)	<u>En el desarrollo comunal ñogayku llank'ayku pero manan APOYO-YKU</u> (<u>'support' - 1st pl. excl. poss.</u>) <u>kanchu</u> <u>'We work in community development but there is no support for us'</u>

[kəmaɪku] (46)	... chaypi <u>CAMA-YKU</u> ('bed' - 1st pl. excl. poss.) <u>patapi tiyaspayku rimayku, chistekunata asiy-</u> <u>kuyku</u> '... here we sit on our beds and talk and laugh at jokes'
[kəmaɪkúmaŋ] (46)	... tukuyku cenayta <u>CAMA-YKU-MAN</u> ('bed' - 1st pl. excl. poss. prop.) <u>alojamientoykuman</u> <u>haykupuyku</u> '... when we had finished having supper we went to our beds and our lodgings'
[kòmpadrɪku] (68)	... chaypi <u>COMPADRE-YKU</u> ('godfather' - 1st pl. excl. poss.) <u>kaqtin kunan wasi cuidanallanpaq</u> '... our godfather is here to look after the house now'
[kòseçai kútaç] (81)	<u>COSECHA-YKU-TAQ</u> ('harvest' - 1st pl. excl. poss. - conn.) <u>mawayta febreropi</u> 'We harvest the early potatoes in February'
[èskwelaɪkúmaŋ] (84)	<u>Chay tarikuspataq hampuyku ... ESCUELA-YKU-MAN</u> ('school' - 1st pl. excl. poss. - prop.) 'And when we had found it, we went back ... to our school'
[èskwelaɪkúta] (33)	<u>Ñogayku ESCUELA-YKU-TA</u> ('school' - 1st pl. excl. poss. - obj.) <u>rispayku</u> 'We go to school'
[èskwelaɪkutápas] (33)	... ñogaykupas aswan mastacha churaykuman <u>ESCUELA-YKU-TA-PAS</u> ('school' - 1st pl. excl. poss. - obj. - 'too') '... we might also put in much more for our school'
[famɪlɪjaɪkúçu] (57)	<u>Mana FAMILIA-YKU-CHU</u> ('family' - 1st pl. excl. poss. - neg.) <u>papaytaqa aparan, soldadokunallan</u> 'Our family did not bring my father, just his soldiers'
[maɪstráɪku] (3)	... <u>MAESTRA-YKU</u> ('teacher' - 1st pl. excl. - poss.) <u>señora Josefina Campana karan</u> '... our teacher was Mrs. Josefina Campana'
[pròfesorai kúmaŋ] (84)	... <u>PROFESORA-YKU-MAN</u> ('teacher' - 1st pl. excl. poss. - prop.) <u>goyku ima rikusgaykuta examenta</u> <u>hina</u> '... we submitted an exam to our teacher on what we had seen'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-yku/

2. /-yku/ 1st pl. excl. pres. (see YL 24; EM 88-89; GP 26; MY 56-57). S loans found in conjunction with /-yku/ 1st pl. excl. pres. are bound forms of the verb stem class, with the exception of almuerz-
ayku, where the substantive has been substituted for the verb stem.

S loans + /-yku/ ± other Q suffix(es)

- [akòmpan̄aiku] (56) ... sapa p'unchay ACOMPAÑA-YKU ('accompany' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) Virgen Asuntata '... every day we go with the Virgin Asunta'
- [almorsáiku] (99) ... misamanta kutipuyku, ALMORZA-YKU ('lunch' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) '... we return from mass and have lunch'
- [almwèrsáiku] (46) Mesaman tiyayuyku, ALMUERZA-YKU ('lunch' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) 'We sit at table and have lunch'
- [atjèndáiku] (10) Wakin compañeraykunataq mal churakapun, chaykuna-taraq ATIENDE-YKU ('wait for' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) 'Many of my friends were ill, and we looked after them'
- [atendáiku] (26) Kaypi primer autoridad wiragocha subprefecto secretarionpa ATENDE-YKU ('attend' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) quejakunata 'Here the first authority is the subprefect, and as his secretary we attend to all complaints'
- [atendíku] (26) ... chaykunata ATENDE-YKU ('deal with' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) '... we deal with these'
- [atendíku] (40) Ñogaykuqa ATENDE-YKU ('deal with' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) llipin runakunata 'We deal with many people'
- [kargáiku] (64) ... papata q'epiyamuyku, CARGA-YKU ('carry' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) 'we put the potatoes in bundles and carry them'
- [kòbraikúcu] (68) ... manan COBRA-YKU-CHU ('charge' - 1st pl. excl. - neg.) ni mediotapas '... we don't even charge him fifty cents'
- [kòntroláiku] (86) Chay kimsantinkumanta CONTROLA-YKU ('control' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) kay cobranza contribucion-kunata 'Through these three, we control the levying of taxes'
- [koseâiku] (81) Anchaykunatapas COSECHA-YKU ('harvest' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) 'These as well we harvest'
- [kòseâikútaq] (81) COSECHA-YKU-TAQ ('harvest' - 1st pl. excl. pres. - conn.) noviembre, diciembre killapi 'We harvest in the months of November and December'
- [kòseâikútaq] (81) COSECHA-YKU-TAQ ('harvest' - 1st pl. excl. pres. - conn.) mawayta febreropi 'We harvest the early potatoes in February'
- [èntendíku] (43) ... q'alata ñogayku ENTENDE-YKU ('understand' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) '... we understand everything'

[gàṇaṭiku]	...
(1)	<u>manan kanchu negocio ni imapaq ni mikhunay-</u> <u>kupaḡwanpas GANA-YKU-CHU</u> ('earn' - 1st pl. excl. pres. - neg.) '... there's no trade, and we don't even earn enough to pay for our food'
[parláiku]	Chayqa kay llaḡtapíḡa sumaḡta runasimipi maynin-
(43)	<u>píḡa PARLA-YKU</u> ('speak' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) 'So in this town we speak good Quechua every- where'
[parláiku]	...
(43)	<u>runasimipi masta PARLA-YKU</u> ('speak' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) <u>comunidad runakunawan</u> '... we speak more Quechua with the people from the communities'
[paṣáiku]	Ñoḡayku hay veces albañilmanta PASA-YKU ('take
(33)	<u>the place of' - 1st pl. excl. pres.)</u> 'Some- times we take the place of masons'
[paṣáiku]	...
(46)	<u>almuerzopaḡ chayayku mayuta PASA-YKU</u> ('pass' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) '... we arrived for lunch and crossed the river'
[prèṣentáiku]	Qosqopi p'unchayninpi PRESENTA-YKU ('present' -
(96)	<u>1st pl. excl. pres.)</u> <u>Inti Raymita</u> 'On the day of Cuzco we present the Inti Raymi'
[prèṣentáikúman]	...
(96)	<u>maypipas ñoḡayku chayta PRESENTA-YKU-MAN</u> (<u>'present' - 1st pl. excl. pres. - cond.</u>) ... we may present this anywhere'
[rekoxáiku]	...
(41)	<u>chay cocata RECOGE-YKU</u> ('collect' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) <u>ḡhatapi</u> '... we gather the coca on the slope of the hill'
[tràḡaxáiku]	...
(40)	<u>sumaḡta voluntad TRABAJA-YKU</u> ('work' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) '... we work with good will'
[vendíku]	...
(40)	<u>cigarrota VENDE-YKU</u> ('sell' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) <u>papel selladota, timbrekunata llipinman</u> '... we sell cigarettes, official paper and stamps to everyone'
[visitáiku]	...
(28)	<u>hinapi iskayta jardinta VISITA-YKU</u> ('visit' - 1st pl. excl. pres.) '... there we visited two kindergartens'

SPANISH LOAN FORMS + /-yoḡ/

/-yoḡ/ accompaniment, expresses ownership, frequently in the sense of the holder of some office (see YL 44, JL 1188; EM 146-148; GP 58; MY 63). S loans found in conjunction with /-yoḡ/ are free forms of the substantive or adjective classes.

S loans + /-yoq/ ± other Q suffix(es)

[bəkayóeta]	<u>Huancayoman apawallankutag BECA-YOQ-TA</u> ('grant' - 'with' - obj.) 'And they took me to Huancayo with a grant'
(32)	
[kargúyoq]	<u>... llaqta CARGO-YOQ</u> ('responsibility' - 'with') 'al vaso' nispa sutiyoq '... the village sponsor is called the "al vaso"'
(59)	
[kargúyoq]	<u>... mana sumaqtachu fiestata ruwan CARGO-YOQ</u> ('responsibility' - 'with') '... the sponsor doesn't put on a splendid fiesta'
(60)	
[kargúyoekúna]	<u>Llaqta fiesta chaypi CARGO-YOQ-KUNA</u> ('responsibility' - 'with' - pl.) <u>cargota ruwanku</u> 'Here at the village fiesta the <u>cargoyoq</u> are in charge'
(2)	
[kargúyoekúna]	<u>Chaypin kan CARGO-YOQ-KUNA</u> ('responsibility' - 'with' - pl.) 'Here there are sponsors'
(59)	
[kargúyoekunáqa]	<u>... CARGO-YOQ-KUNA-QA</u> ('responsibility' - 'with' - pl. - emph.) <u>cervezata lliu genteta invitaspamachasqanku</u> '... the office-bearers, offering beer to everyone, get drunk'
(2)	
[karguyóetae]	<u>Hatun iglesiaman CARGO-YOQ-TAQ</u> ('responsibility' - 'with' - conn.) <u>Mamachata atienden</u> 'And the sponsor accompanies the Holy Mother to the big church'
(2)	
[asjendáyoq]	<u>Hinaspa pay HACIENDA-YOQ</u> ('farm' - 'with') <u>karapun</u> 'And so he remained with the farm'
(76)	
[asjendáyoqpa]	<u>... chay HACIENDA-YOQ-PA</u> ('farm' - 'with' - poss.) <u>partidonkuna</u> '... the teams of this farmer'
(76)	
[matrimonyóetae]	<u>MATRIMONIO-YOQ-TAQ</u> ('married couple' - 'with' - conn.) <u>chay matrimonio p'unchayta fiestanku</u> 'They celebrate the day of the wedding with the bride and groom'
(16)	
[nasidúyoq]	<u>Calca llaqtamanta kani, Cuzco NACIDO-YOQ</u> ('born' - 'with') 'I am from the town of Calca, born in Cuzco'
(32)	
[padrinúyoq]	<u>Llaqtapi runakuna casarakun kimsa PADRINO-YOQ</u> ('sponsor' - 'with') 'In the village people are married with three sponsors'
(14)	
[presyúyoq]	<u>Chaymanta ima ñutukunachá kan pisi PRECIO-YOQ</u> ('price' - 'with') <u>wasikuna</u> 'Then there are perhaps small houses at low prices'
(31)	
[profesoráyoq]	<u>Chay paseoman ñoqayku rirayku yaga tawa chunka pishayoc alumnakuna, tawa PROFESORA-YOQ</u> ('teacher' - 'with') 'We were about forty-five girls that went on this outing, and four teachers'
(10)	

[teçúyoq]

(68)

... altochapi kimsa cuartokuna ... kashan,
cocinantin calamina TECHO-YOQ ('roof' - 'with')
'... upstairs there are ... three rooms, plus
a kitchen with a corrugated iron roof'

[varayóeqa]

(12)

... chay VARA-YOQ-QA ('rod' - 'with' - emph.)
faenakunata ruwanan '... this mayor has to
see to the communal work'

SPANISH LOAN FORM + /-yu/

/-yu/ honorific or intensifier. Generally best left untranslated.

/-yu/ is in free variation with /-yku/ (see p. 275), and is the alternative form with /-yka/ which occurs before /-ku/, /-ri/, /-chi/, /-pu/ and /-mu/ (see YL 30; EM 179-180; GP 67; MY 49). The S loan found in conjunction with /-yu/ is a bound form of the verb stem class.

S loan + /-yu/ + other Q suffix

[tomayúnku]

(16)

Chay fiestapiqa ... TOMA-YU-NKU ('drink' -
'polite' - 3rd pl. pres.) gustonkupaq 'At this
fiesta ... they drink as much as they please'

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A P P E N D I C E S

Appendix I:

A. WORD COUNT: QUECHUA SCRIPTS

<u>Ref.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Que-</u> <u>chua</u>	<u>Spa-</u> <u>nish</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Modi-</u> <u>fied*</u>	<u>Unmod-</u> <u>ified</u>	<u>Ref.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Que-</u> <u>chua</u>	<u>Spa-</u> <u>nish</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Modi-</u> <u>fied</u>	<u>Unmod-</u> <u>ified</u>
1.	120	65	185	29	36	49.	89	22	111	18	4
2.	82	74	156	43	31	50.	163	66	229	33	33
3.	84	63	147	25	38	52.	125	73	198	40	33
5.	90	21	111	8	13	53.	95	24	119	18	6
6.	36	16	42	15	1	55.	50	25	75	17	8
7.	55	21	76	17	4	56.	55	28	83	21	7
8.	128	28	156	16	12	57.	88	45	133	37	8
9.	480	11	491	2	9	58.	82	59	141	37	22
10.	90	37	127	27	10	59.	92	57	149	35	22
11.	160	32	192	27	5	60.	88	45	133	25	20
12.	103	18	121	15	3	61.	136	30	166	20	10
13.	122	30	152	21	9	62.	87	25	112	23	2
14.	59	40	99	25	13	63.	64	31	95	15	16
15.	67	53	120	35	18	64.	83	29	112	9	20
16.	144	109	253	84	25	66.	143	87	230	48	39
17.	182	103	285	57	46	67.	127	33	160	24	9
18.	500	85	585	51	34	68.	145	50	195	30	20
19.	109	56	165	33	23	71.	444	60	504	28	32
20.	135	74	209	47	27	72.	88	39	127	36	3
22.	75	16	91	11	5	73.	205	73	278	58	16
23.	185	88	273	47	41	74.	118	16	134	15	1
24.	44	21	65	13	8	75.	115	43	158	29	14
26.	31	41	72	20	21	76.	147	25	172	17	8
27.	110	38	148	33	5	77.	146	51	197	38	13
28.	78	22	110	17	5	78.	100	42	142	22	20
30.	233	67	300	23	44	79.	371	57	428	47	30
31.	203	73	276	26	47	81.	193	53	248	28	25
32.	75	23	98	15	8	82.	127	49	176	28	21
33.	90	38	128	24	14	83.	114	64	178	45	19
34.	63	27	90	15	12	84.	55	24	79	12	12
35.	91	17	108	8	9	85.	89	29	118	20	9
36.	90	72	162	32	40	86.	81	102	183	43	59
38.	87	21	108	12	9	87.	100	30	130	22	8
39.	140	36	176	20	16	88.	41	30	71	20	10
40.	48	30	78	25	5	89.	117	73	190	39	34
41.	90	38	128	18	20	91.	61	24	75	16	8
42.	98	31	129	18	13	92.	62	24	86	14	10
43.	54	24	78	16	8	93.	130	15	145	10	5
44.	50	15	66	6	9	94.	72	8	80	3	5
45.	125	46	171	29	17	95.	93	42	135	26	16
46.	146	65	211	50	15	96.	90	13	103	11	2
47.	76	25	111	15	10	98.	55	14	69	11	3
48.	53	24	77	13	11	99.	94	43	137	32	11
						TOTALS 10101 3606 14707 2203 1422					

* Modified = found in conjunction with Quechua suffixes.
Unmodified = not found in conjunction with Quechua suffixes.

B. WORD COUNT: SPANISH SCRIPTS

<u>Ref.</u>					<u>Ref.</u>				
<u>No.</u>	<u>Spanish</u>	<u>Quechua</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>No.</u>	<u>Spanish</u>	<u>Quechua</u>	<u>Total</u>	
1.	.. 558	.. 2	.. 560		51.	.. 275	.. 5	.. 280	
2.	.. 531	.. 9	.. 540		52.	.. 297	.. 11	.. 308	
3.	.. 287	.. 1	.. 288		53.	.. 278	.. 2	.. 280	
4.	.. 454	.. 1	.. 455		54.	.. 258	.. 8	.. 266	
5.	.. 484	.. 12	.. 496		55.	.. 151	.. 10	.. 161	
6.	.. 120	.. 13	.. 133		56.	.. 220	.. 4	.. 224	
7.	.. 400	.. 20	.. 420		57.	.. 150	.. 4	.. 154	
8.	.. 777	.. 3	.. 780		58.	.. 267	.. 6	.. 273	
9.	.. 433	.. 23	.. 456		59.	.. 325	.. 11	.. 336	
10.	.. 399	.. 1	.. 400		60.	.. 206	.. 4	.. 210	
11.	.. 240	.. 0	.. 240		63.	.. 111	.. 1	.. 112	
12.	.. 269	.. 1	.. 270		65.	.. 501	.. 3	.. 504	
13.	.. 274	.. 14	.. 288		66.	.. 445	.. 10	.. 455	
14.	.. 234	.. 6	.. 240		67.	.. 401	.. 5	.. 406	
15.	.. 302	.. 10	.. 312		68.	.. 454	.. 8	.. 462	
16.	.. 915	.. 9	.. 924		69.	.. 515	.. 10	.. 525	
17.	.. 521	.. 4	.. 525		70.	.. 216	.. 8	.. 224	
18.	.. 336	.. 14	.. 350		71.	.. 590	.. 5	.. 595	
19.	.. 368	.. 31	.. 399		72.	.. 215	.. 9	.. 224	
20.	.. 418	.. 16	.. 434		73.	.. 396	.. 3	.. 399	
21.	.. 248	.. 4	.. 252		74.	.. 1,470	.. 0	.. 1,470	
22.	.. 275	.. 12	.. 287		75.	.. 812	.. 0	.. 812	
23.	.. 527	.. 5	.. 532		76.	.. 350	.. 0	.. 350	
24.	.. 213	.. 4	.. 217		77.	.. 325	.. 4	.. 329	
25.	.. 245	.. 0	.. 245		78.	.. 144	.. 3	.. 147	
26.	.. 303	.. 1	.. 304		79.	.. 278	.. 2	.. 280	
27.	.. 265	.. 1	.. 266		80.	.. 502	.. 2	.. 504	
28.	.. 237	.. 1	.. 238		81.	.. 364	.. 0	.. 364	
29.	.. 304	.. 11	.. 315		82.	.. 286	.. 8	.. 294	
30.	.. 340	.. 10	.. 350		83.	.. 304	.. 4	.. 308	
31.	.. 237	.. 1	.. 238		84.	.. 219	.. 3	.. 322	
32.	.. 199	.. 4	.. 203		85.	.. 208	.. 2	.. 210	
33.	.. 279	.. 1	.. 280		86.	.. 267	.. 13	.. 280	
34.	.. 320	.. 2	.. 322		87.	.. 294	.. 7	.. 301	
35.	.. 256	.. 3	.. 259		88.	.. 231	.. 0	.. 231	
36.	.. 405	.. 1	.. 406		89.	.. 441	.. 0	.. 441	
37.	.. 141	.. 6	.. 147		90.	.. 514	.. 11	.. 525	
38.	.. 166	.. 2	.. 168		91.	.. 244	.. 8	.. 252	
39.	.. 289	.. 5	.. 294		92.	.. 278	.. 2	.. 280	
40.	.. 262	.. 18	.. 280		93.	.. 324	.. 12	.. 336	
41.	.. 351	.. 20	.. 371		94.	.. 512	.. 13	.. 525	
42.	.. 211	.. 6	.. 217		95.	.. 409	.. 14	.. 423	
43.	.. 265	.. 1	.. 266		96.	.. 461	.. 1	.. 462	
44.	.. 482	.. 8	.. 490		97.	.. 485	.. 3	.. 488	
45.	.. 420	.. 0	.. 420		98.	.. 320	.. 16	.. 336	
46.	.. 249	.. 3	.. 252		99.	.. 247	.. 5	.. 252	
47.	.. 160	.. 1	.. 161		100.	.. 365	.. 13	.. 378	
48.	.. 170	.. 1	.. 171						
49.	.. 168	.. 7	.. 175						
50.	.. 383	.. 1	.. 364						
					<u>Totals</u>	33,695	603	34,298	

Appendix II:

LIST OF INFORMANTS,
WITH REFERENCE TO SEX, AGE, OCCUPATION AND LINGUISTIC ABILITY

<u>Ref.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Linguistic ability</u>
1.	F	47	Fruit-seller in market	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
2.	M	66	Small shop-keeper	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
3.	F	14	Primary schoolgirl	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
4.	F.	39	Housewife	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Ay)*
5.	M	18	Secondary schoolboy	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
6.	M	16	Secondary schoolboy	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
7.	M	16	Secondary schoolboy	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
8.	M	26	Art teacher in second- ary school	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
9.	M	61	Retired teacher	Coordinate bilingual
10.	F	17	Secondary schoolgirl	Coordinate bilingual
11.	F	18	Secondary schoolgirl	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
12.	F	17	Secondary schoolgirl	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
13.	F	16	Maid in household	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
14.	F	40	Housewife	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
15.	F	26	Postmistress	Coordinate bilingual
16.	M	37	Post office employee	Coordinate bilingual
17.	F	103	Housewife, bread-seller	Coordinate bilingual
18.	M	50	Truckdriver, garage owner	Coordinate bilingual
19.	F	45	Housewife	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
20.	M	22	Student, employed as clerk	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
21.	M	52	Dispensing chemist	Incipient bilingual (Spanish)
22.	M	25	Member of <u>guardia civil</u>	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
23.	M	22	Member of <u>guardia civil</u>	Coordinate bilingual
24.	M	32	Member of <u>guardia civil</u>	Coordinate bilingual
25.	M	60	Subprefect of Calca	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Ay)*
26.	M	56	Secretary to subprefect	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
27.	F	30	Kindergarten teacher	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
28.	F	42	Kindergarten teacher	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
29.	F	22	Kindergarten teacher	Incipient bilingual (Spanish)
30.	M	41	Parish priest	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
31.	M	49	Lawyer's clerk	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
32.	M	40	Assistant supervisor of adult education	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
33.	M	48	Assistant supervisor of adult education	Coordinate bilingual
34.	M	38	Provincial supervisor of education	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
35.	M	23	Student employed as librarian	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
36.	M	28	Head of registrar's office	Coordinate bilingual
37.	F	34	Housekeeper on farm	Incipient bilingual (Spanish)

* Ay = Aymará.

<u>Ref.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Linguistic ability</u>
38.	M	25	Farm worker	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
39.	M	52	Secretary of town council	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
40.	M	44	Employee of the <u>Banco de la Nación</u>	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
41.	M	39	Employee of the <u>Banco de la Nación</u>	Coordinate bilingual
42.	F	42	Housewife	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
43.	M	43	Head of primary school	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
44.	M	31	Administrator of town water	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
45.	M	62	Lawyer, district attorney	Coordinate bilingual
46.	M	28	Farm worker	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
47.	M	42	Farm worker	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
48.	M	70	Farm foreman	Coordinate bilingual
49.	M	25	Farm worker	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
50.	M	20	Farm worker	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
51.	F	27	Primary school-teacher	Incipient bilingual (Spanish)
52.	F	22	Primary school-teacher	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
53.	F	30	Primary school-teacher	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
54.	M	26	Agricultural engineer	Incipient bilingual (Spanish)
55.	F	11	Primary schoolgirl	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
56.	F	11	Primary schoolgirl	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
57.	F	16	Primary schoolgirl	Coordinate bilingual
58.	F	23	Primary schoolteacher	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
59.	M	66	Treasurer of town council	Coordinate bilingual
60.	M	40	Tailor	Coordinate bilingual
61.	M	41	Farm worker	Incipient bilingual (Quechua)
62.	M	32	Farm worker	Incipient bilingual (Quechua)
63.	M	56	Farm worker	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
64.	M	40	Farm worker	Incipient bilingual (Quechua)
65.	F	25	Auxiliary nurse	Incipient bilingual (Spanish)
66.	F	30	Primary schoolteacher	Coordinate bilingual
67.	M	35	Teacher of agriculture	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
68.	F	60	Housewife	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
69.	M	32	Doctor	Incipient bilingual (Spanish)
70.	F	19	Student	Incipient bilingual (Spanish)
71.	M	70	Retired teacher	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
72.	M	28	Primary school-teacher	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
73.	M	42	Head of primary school	Coordinate bilingual
74.	M	12	Primary schoolboy	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
75.	M	14	Primary schoolboy	Coordinate bilingual
76.	M	13	Primary schoolboy	Coordinate bilingual
77.	M	12	Primary schoolboy	Coordinate bilingual
78.	M	19	Primary schoolboy	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
79.	M	16	Primary schoolboy	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
80.	F	49	Housewife	Incipient bilingual (Spanish)
81.	M	52	Farmer	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
82.	F	43	Housewife and small shopkeeper	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
83.	M	62	Retired muleteer	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
84.	F	37	Housekeeper — knits to make living	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)

<u>Ref.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Linguistic ability</u>
85.	M	40	Master baker	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
86.	M	34	Employee of the <u>Banco de la Nación</u>	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
87.	M	30	Carpenter	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
88.	M	63	<u>Alguacil</u> to a judge	Coordinate bilingual
89.	M	41	<u>Juez de primera instancia</u>	Coordinate bilingual
90.	M	51	Unemployed	Incipient bilingual (Spanish)
91.	F	54	Runs an eating place	Coordinate bilingual
92.	M	44	Head of secondary school	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
93.	M	23	Secondary schoolteacher	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
94.	M	70	Mayor of Calca	Coordinate bilingual
95.	F	28	School secretary	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
96.	F	28	Auxiliary schoolteacher	Coordinate bilingual
97.	F	27	Secondary schoolteacher	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Ay)*
98.	F	45	Housewife, retired teacher	Subordinate bilingual (1S;2Q)
99.	F	14	Maid in house	Subordinate bilingual (1Q;2S)
100.	F	57	Housewife	Incipient bilingual (Spanish)

* Ay = Aymará.